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Portrait by C. Jannsen van Ceulen — From a Photograph by Emery Walker Ltd.

DUDLEY CARLETON

POLICY AND PAINT

OR

SOME INCIDENTS IN THE LIVES OF DUDLEY CARLETON AND PETER PAUL RUBENS

BY

THE AUTHOR OF "A LIFE OF SIR KENELM DIGBY"
ETC., ETC., ETC.,

Thomas Longueville

WITH FOURTEEN ILLUSTRATIONS

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA
1913

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THE Author gratefully acknowledges valuable assistance from Mr. Walter Herries Pollock and Mr. H. E. Malden.

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CHAPTER I.

THE title, *Policy and Paint*, may suggest reprints from the eloquent orations delivered at the Banquets of the Royal Academy, where the most eminent politicians and painters forgather once a year for mutual admiration. The "Annual Dinner," however, of whatever sort or kind, had not become the most sacred of British Institutions at the time to be dealt with in the following pages, in which a sketch will be attempted of some incidents that took place during the early part of the seventeenth century, in most of which incidents, politics, and in many of them painting, were important factors. They will group themselves round two names, of which that of the painter may be more generally known than that of the politician. Of both Dudley Carleton, a professor of diplomacy and an amateur in art, and Peter Paul Rubens, distinguished in the profession of art and an amateur in politics, it can safely be said that they were remarkable above most of their fellows for their honourable conduct, during a period of exceptional corruption and depravity. An attempt will be made to show, not only how the politician and the painter came to have dealings both in politics and in paintings, but also how painting became a medium in politics.

This humble work will not aspire to be biography much less to be history; it will be merely an attempt to give a rough idea of the lives of the two principal characters and their surroundings.

The two men in question were born in successive years; Dudley Carleton, a scion of an old English family, on 10 March, 1573, and Rubens, according to some the son of a Flemish chemist, on 27 April, 1574. Most attention will be paid here to the less known history of Dudley Carleton. Indeed, throughout the first four chapters, little or nothing more will be heard of Peter Paul Rubens; but he will figure largely in the fifth.

The career of Dudley Carleton is familiar enough to serious students of history; but it deserves to be better known among general readers. Anything like a Biography of Carleton ought to include a large number of the letters that passed between himself and Chamberlain. In a book like the present they must be firmly excluded, except in a few instances. It may be observed, however, that a very agreeable and profitable task is open to any man of research who will produce a book of well-selected and carefully annotated letters from the enormous correspondence between Carleton and Chamberlain in the Record Office and elsewhere. It should be one of the most entertaining and popular of all books dealing with the last years of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Dudley Carleton's father was Anthony Carleton,[1] of Baldwin Brightwell, Oxfordshire, and his mother was Jocosa, daughter of John Goodwin, of Winchington, Buckinghamshire. As a boy he went to school at Westminster, and he became an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, at eighteen.

After leaving Oxford, Carleton was sent abroad to study foreign languages, and in the year 1601, when he was at the age of twenty-eight, he went to France with the English Ambassador at Paris, Sir Thomas Parry, as Under Secretary; but he got on badly with the First Secretary, a Huguenot named St. Sauveur, and he soon resigned his post.

Shortly after the death of Queen Elizabeth, when he was thirty, he became Secretary to the Earl of Northumberland. At best, the Percys were a dangerous family to serve under. Few Earls of Northumberland had died in their beds. It is true that the

[1] At Dugdale's Visitation of Cumberland in 1665, Sir Wm. Carleton, of Carleton Hall, certified his descent, through eighteen generations, from Baldwin de Carleton, who lived shortly after the Conquest, and from him "all the famous Carletons" were descended, says Sanford ("Cumberland MSS." deposited at the Chapter House, Carlisle). From a branch of the family descended from Adam de Carleton (*temp.* Edward I) came Dudley Carleton. There were also Carletons who settled in Nottinghamshire, Surrey, Middlesex, Lincolnshire, and Ireland. One of the latter became Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, Baron Carleton of Anner, and Viscount Carleton of Clare (1797). His title became extinct in 1825. See Burke's "Dormant and Extinct Peerages," pp. 103-4. In his notice of Dudley Carleton, Burke spells his surname Carlton.

eighth Earl, the brother of Dudley Carleton's employer, did so, but as violently as if he had been on the scaffold or the field of battle, being shot—or possibly having shot himself—as he lay in his bed, in the Tower, where he was imprisoned for plotting, in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, against Elizabeth. The previous Earl had been beheaded for the Northern rising of 1569, and his father, Sir Thomas Percy, had been executed for the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the reign of Henry VIII. His grandfather was murdered. His great-grandfather, his great-great-grandfather, his great-great-great-grandfather, and his great-great-great-great-grandfather had all been killed in battle, one at Towton, one at St. Albans, one at Shrewsbury, one at Bramham Moor. Perhaps scarcely any other family had been so often concerned in rebellions, or in reputed rebellions, during the lengthy period in which so-called rebellions frequently consisted of attempts to depose rebels from the throne.

The particular Earl of Northumberland who had taken Carleton as his Secretary, was actually, although not ostensibly, at enmity with the powerful Salisbury, and this made Carleton's appointment one of very doubtful attractions.

An incident which brought trouble two years later, to Carleton, was a very simple and innocent act of duty on his part as Secretary to Northumberland. The Earl commissioned him to go to a certain Mrs. Susan Whynniard, and ask her to let a house in her

possession to a cousin of Northumberland's named Thomas Percy. It so happened that this house stood next to the Houses of Parliament, but that was no concern of the Secretary's. Carleton had good cause to regret having executed this apparently harmless commission. All went smoothly, however, during that year and the next; but it is probable that Carleton perceived, as he was taken more into the confidence of Northumberland, that he was in a dangerous service, or that, at the least, it was not a service likely to lead to preferment; for he either resigned, or lost, his post.

In the year 1604, Carleton was elected Member of Parliament for the Borough of St. Mawes, in Cornwall. His constituency was a small seaport town, consisting of one street, and returning two members to Parliament. It was a Parliamentary Borough from 1562 to 1832. He at once took an active part in the debates, showing himself to be a very able speaker; and Kippis says, "The figure which he made in the House of Commons is thought to have been the principal thing that first recommended him to the notice and favour of that admirable judge of men, the Lord Treasurer Salisbury."

In April, 1605, Carleton was appointed Secretary to Lord Norris, on an expedition to Spain. His opinion of Spain, after his visit there, was summarized in two expressive words: *Superba Miseria.* On the way back, through France, Lord Norris became seri-

ously ill in Paris, and Carleton remained there in attendance on him for some months.

The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot was made in November of the same year. Shortly afterwards a letter came to Carleton from the Lords of the Council, expressing a desire for an interview with him. The news that his late patron and employer, the Earl of Northumberland, was under honourable restraint, in the house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, under a charge of having been implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, led Carleton to look forward to his interview with the Lords of the Council with feelings other than of pleasure. As to the feelings of the Lords of the Council, the curious absence of Dudley Carleton on the Continent at that particular and very critical moment, and, perhaps (owing to Lord Norris's illness and affairs), some delay in his return in obedience to their summons, may have increased their suspicions.

Almost as soon as he had reached England, he was arrested and imprisoned at the house of a bailiff, in Westminster. He was now in a very unpleasant position. It was well known that he had been Secretary to Northumberland, and the prosecution would be certain to maintain that he had been an exceptionally confidential Secretary at the very time when Northumberland had obtained, by means of Carleton, the house next to the Houses of Parliament, for the Conspirator, Percy. The comparatively short service of Carleton under Northumberland might be

considered evidence that he had merely been employed for the express and traitorous purpose of thus rendering the execution of the horrible plot possible, by negotiating the tenancy of the only house through which it could be carried out. Finally his seeking an appointment abroad for the year of the proposed massacre, and the fact of his lingering in Paris after the discovery of the conspiracy, were highly suspicious actions.

To a young man hoping for the favours of royalty imprisonment on a charge of having been concerned in an attempt to murder the King and his Parliament seemed to shatter all his ambitions. And it appeared far from improbable that he might have a long term of prison life before him, or possibly a short shrift and death on the gallows.

At the trial of Guy Fawkes, among other evidence adduced was that of Susan Whynniard, which is thus summarized in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic, 1603-10, p. 243). "Her house close by the Parliament House, let to Henry Ferrers, of Warwickshire, was assigned, in March, 1604, with her consent, to Thos. Percy, at the entreaty of Mr. Carleton, Mr. Epsley, and others of the Earl of Northumberland's men. She also assigned to him, a year afterwards, the Vault under the Parliament House."

These examinations were made in November, 1605. In December we find, on page 265 of the same volume: "(The Earl of Salisbury) to the (Earl of Dumferline), Lord Chancellor of Scotland. . . .

The Earl of Northumberland is suspected of having received a general caution from Percy, but not of any knowledge of the real plot."

On the same page, there is a precis of a letter from Northumberland to Salisbury: "Recommends the bearer, Dudley Carleton, formerly his Secretary. Would be sorry were he to be involved in his own misfortunes. Marked 'Not sent'."

Next to this comes "Dudley Carleton to the same (Salisbury). Begs that he and the Council will acquit him of suspicion of bearing a part in the barbarous villainy. Has been in restraint nine days." Presently a letter is noticed from Dudley Carleton to John Corbett. "Is ill from his confinement; begs him to speak a good word to Lord Salisbury in his favour." There are several other letters written in December by Carleton to Salisbury, begging for his liberty and pleading his innocence.

In the February of the following year, Dudley Carleton was not only at liberty, but "airing himself on the Chiltern Hills, in order to take away the scent of powder," as he wrote to his friend, Chamberlain.[1]

But the suspicions concerning his patron overshadowed him for some months longer, and in August Northumberland[2] wrote to him, from the Tower, declaring that his own misfortunes did not trouble him, because he was innocent, but that he felt sorrowful in reflecting that his dependents were

[1] S.P. Dom. James I. 28 Feb. 1606. Huntercomb.

[2] *Ib.* 20 Aug.

suffering for his sake. He thought "the Court the best sphere for Carleton"; but he could do little, or nothing, to help him there. . . . He would allow Carleton "a small pension, to keep him from sinking". But, on the same day, Carleton wrote to Chamberlain that he thought it would be dangerous to accept any offer of money from Northumberland. On 16 November he wrote to Salisbury, expressing a hope that, as his innocence had been proved with regard to the Gunpowder Plot, the prohibition against his taking his seat in Parliament might be withdrawn. He also begged Salisbury to give him some appointment, since "having been trained for public life," he was "unfitted for any other".

Even so late as 13 September, 1611, long after his innocence of the Gunpowder Plot had been proved, gossip would still appear to have implicated him in it; for he wrote to Sir Walter Cope saying that he was worried by the "suspicions of the powder plot" against him. Protesting his innocence, he declared that he had never held the conferences, or conducted the correspondences, with Percy of which he was accused; on the contrary he stated that Chamberlain could bear witness to the fact that a coolness had arisen between Percy and himself, which had made him desirous to leave the service of Northumberland.

Carleton seems to have been justified in his distrust of Northumberland and in his refusal to avail himself of offers from him; for, on 29 September, 1611, Sir Henry Savile wrote, from Eton, saying

that Northumberland implicated Carleton "in the firing of the house at Westminster"; but Savile advised Carleton to take no notice of this unless he were "specially charged".

In September, 1607, Salisbury offered Dudley Carleton a mission to Florence. Just then Carleton was about to be married to Ann, daughter of George Garrard, a step-daughter of Sir Henry Savile; and Carleton wrote to Salisbury in November, expressing his willingness to go there for a limited time, and to take his wife with him. Probably this qualified acceptance did not satisfy Salisbury; for late in December, Carleton was still in England, and he wrote to Chamberlain, from Knebworth, that he had just shot a doe, and that the party staying in the house amused themselves with carols, fireside tales, and "making war upon the blackbirds". His correspondent replied by telling him that his name was on Salisbury's "bead-roll" for employment.

Another year of weary idleness had passed when, in November, he again implored Salisbury to give him foreign employment, declaring himself tired out with doing nothing, and at the same time thanking Salisbury for having set him right with the King as to the Gunpowder Plot.

CHAPTER II.

CARLETON'S marriage took place in 1607, and during the first year of their married life he and Ann his wife lived at Eton with his step-father-in-law, the Provost. At that time Sir Henry Savile was engrossed in preparing an edition of the works of St. Chrysostom, a labour in which Carleton rendered him considerable assistance. Four years before his marriage, when he was in Paris with Lord Norris, Carleton had collected manuscripts and sent them to Savile for his work, and he had written from that city, saying that he was "plodding at his Greek letters". Literature and painting are fellow-servants to art. Here we find Dudley Carleton interested in the first named, and before long, he will be found an ardent patron of the last named servant. And after all, as Ruskin says (*Modern Painters*, vol. I, chap. XI.), painting is "nothing more than language. . . . We should call a man a great painter only as he excelled in precision and force in the language of lines, and a great versifier, as he excelled in precision and force in the language of words."

Of Savile's *St. Chrysostom*, Thomas Birch wrote in his *Historical View of the Negotiations between*

England, France and Brussels, 1592-1607 (a book published in 1749)[1] :—"This edition, which cost Sir Henry Savile £8,000, was printed at Eton College in 1613, in a most beautiful manner in eight volumes in folio, and was the most magnificent work which our nation had then produced."

From this it may be pretty safely inferred that Sir Henry was a wealthy man. £8,000 at his time would be the equivalent of several times that amount in our own, and he must have known that his book was not of a character likely to command a rapid sale; nor is it surprising to find him lamenting to Carleton some time after its publication (13 March, 1616), that it was "selling so badly".

In 1609 Dudley Carleton wrote the following letter to Winwood, bemoaning his want of an appointment, and humbly desiring to keep himself "in sight," lest he should be altogether forgotten by men of influence.

Carleton to Winwood.[2]

"London, 7 *April,* 1609.

". . . I assure you I have not slept in answering both yours and my other friend's expectation, in my best endeavour to set myself forward in the world as far as in modesty and good manners I might; but *non est volentis neque currenti.* All depends upon the will of the Lord. . . . I have here in my poor habi-

[1] Page 299. [2] "Winwood's Memorials," Vol. III, p. 7.

tation a special benefit of near neighbourhood to Sir Thomas Bodley, from whom I receive many favours, and yesterday my wife was invited by him to Fulham, whither we went and Mr. Chamberlain as our company. . . . I have of late met with a malady, not much to be bragged of unless it were to wish an enemy, the stone, whereof I have had two shrewd fits."

Carleton's apparent friendliness with Winwood, and his desire not to slip out of the mind of so influential a statesman, are the more remarkable because he personally disliked the man. In a letter to Sir Thomas Edwards,[1] on 30 March, 1609, he wrote of Winwood: "In his self-conceitedness, he will only prove his own enemy".

The year 1610 was an all-important one, if not the turning point, in the career of Dudley Carleton. In a letter which he wrote to Winwood on 25 July, he describes its principal incidents.

CARLETON TO WINWOOD.[2]

"LONDON, 25 *July*, 1610.

"My Irish journey was in that forwardness that I had taken my house and made my provisions at Dublin" (for the post of Secretary), "from which I was stayed upon a favourable consideration of the poorness of the place, and the small use there would be had of my service. I was shortly after assigned to

[1] Birch's "Historical View" (1749), p. 296.

[2] "Winwood Memorials," Vol. III, p. 200.

Brussels, and so near my despatch that my Privy Seal was drawn and an hour appointed for my taking leave of the King. But a reason of State stopped that voyage. . . . I am now commanded to prepare for Venice, to which I was, as you heard, nominated before this other journey to Brussels was in question. . . . I agree with you in opinion that the employment I am now entering into is of little more use than my other of Ireland; for there is small difference between sticking in bogs or being environed with waters."

That a man who had been under arrest under a suspicion of High Treason and of abetting an attempted wholesale massacre, should have been appointed Secretary for Ireland and an Ambassador in one year, the Embassy being one of great importance, makes one hold one's breath in amazement, an amazement increased when the man thus suddenly raised from the position of an M.P. for a pocket borough in Cornwall, to almost the highest pinnacle of diplomatic ambition, could write of that appointment as a thing of little use, contemptuously adding that, in his opinion, there was but "small difference" between the canals of Venice and the bogs of Ireland.

It was at a critical period in the history of diplomacy that Dudley Carleton became an Ambassador. Although in the Middle Ages there had been many embassies from one country to another, they had been mere temporary missions; and it was not until the fifteenth century that the birth of modern diplomacy took place, under the shadow of the Renaissance in

Portrait by Miereveldt — From an Engraving by Vertue

SIR RALPH WINWOOD

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Italy, that nursery of statecraft. At least three Italians, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, had already been employed as envoys of the older school, and some authorities trace the origin of modern diplomacy to the legatine system of the Papacy. The custom of appointing resident Ambassadors in foreign countries had begun rather less than a hundred years before the birth of Dudley Carleton, the first of such embassies having been from Spain to England in 1487; but it was only in the early days of Dudley Carleton that the system had become more or less general. By that time diplomacy had become Machiavellian and it was largely conducted by lying and spying; the Government entertaining an Ambassador opened and read his correspondence, while the diplomatic guest bribed his host's officials to confide to him the secrets of their government. Consequently Ambassadors were justly regarded with great suspicion. Our own Henry VII. forbade his subjects to hold any intercourse with them; the Government of Venice decreed a heavy fine and banishment for anyone who should talk about affairs of State with a foreign envoy; and the Sultan went so far as to lock up an Ambassador of Ferdinand II. in "a dark and stinking place without windows."

Dudley Carleton had been still at Oxford when the Italian, Ottaviano Maggi, in his "De Legato," described the qualities necessary to an Ambassador. He was to understand half a dozen languages, to have a thorough knowledge of history, geography, philosophy, mathematics, civil and canon law, and never to

be without his Homer. Nor was knowledge all that was wanted; for he was to be handsome, of good family, and wealthy. Eight years after Dudley Carleton had become an Ambassador, a Dutch writer added to the above qualifications those of being abstemious, eloquent, cautious but courageous, witty but not gossipy, and neither violent nor quarrelsome, nor morose, nor a flatterer.[1] It is generally considered that the first really systematic book upon Diplomacy was written a few years after the birth of Dudley Carleton, in the "De Legationibus" of Albericus Gentilis. The most serviceable work to diplomatists of that period, however, appeared when Dudley Carleton had been an Ambassador for a good many years, although a portion of it had been published earlier. The foundation of diplomacy may be said to be International Law; and, although many learned treatises on that subject had been published in the sixteenth century, the first wide and elaborate collection of precedents arranged in a scientific system was the "De Jure Belli et Pacis" of Hugo Grotius, which appeared in 1625, probably at the very time when Dudley Carleton was employed on a special diplomatic mission at the Hague.

The glory of Venice had been declining long before Carleton went there. At one time the greatest mercantile city of the world, and even then one of the greatest, Venice, unable to obtain sufficient corn and

[1] Frederikus de Marselaer in his "Κηρυκεῖον Sive Legationum Insigne".

other provisions by sea, had felt it necessary to secure a less precarious supply, and had expanded her territories on the mainland. This had brought her into collision with the Carraresi of Padua, the Scaligeri of Verona, and the Visconti of Milan. Hence, for a century or more before Carleton's arrival, she had engaged in wars, from time to time, on this account. Besides these wars on her frontiers, her wars with the Turks had greatly crippled her resources ; and although the battle of Lepanto, some forty years before Carleton went to Venice, had been a glorious victory, much of which was owing to Venetian arms, her allies had failed to enable her to reap its fruits to the full. And as a set-off to that victory, she had lost Cyprus to the Turks, who had flayed its Venetian Governor alive, and carried his skin stuffed with straw in triumph to Constantinople.

The loss of Cyprus and of her trade with Egypt and the Levant, together with the discoveries of America and of the sea-route by the Cape to India, added to the rapidity of the decline of Venice, as much trade had thus been diverted to England, Holland, and Portugal. Indeed, at the time of Carleton's arrival, it was only in art that Venice remained not far below her zenith: Titian, Paolo Veronese, Tintoretto, and Palladio had already been dead for some years ; but Dudley Carleton came in for the afterglow of these lately-set suns ; and it is probable that its influence had much to do with the deep interest in sculpture and painting which he very soon manifested.

His connexion with art and artists, however, will be noticed later on and at some length: for the present it will be sufficient to say that the first link of that connexion was of doubtful augury, as he began by decorating his house in Venice with so-called artistic objects hired in one "lot" from a Jew. Carleton went to Venice about half-a-dozen years after the first performance of Shakespeare's Venetian play, "Othello," which had been preceded, some ten years earlier, by his other Venetian play, "The Merchant of Venice".

At the advent of Dudley Carleton, Venice was in fear on the one side of Spain, whose power had been firmly established in Italy since the battle of Pavia in 1525, and, on the other side of the Turks, as indeed the event proved that she well might be. Venice had greatly offended another important power, four years before Carleton's arrival. She was always intensely jealous of her rights, or of what she considered to be her rights, and her own ideas about them had not been invariably identical with those of the Roman Curia. The consequent friction had culminated when she had dealt with some clerical delinquents in a civil court, in defiance of a special warning from Rome that they ought to be tried before an ecclesiastical Tribunal. Pope Paul V had then promptly laid Venice under an Interdict. The Doge and Senate had been so bold as to order the priests at Venice to ignore the Interdict and to continue their ministrations. All had obeyed this order except the

Jesuits, who refused to do so, whereupon the Venetian Government banished the Jesuits from their territories.

The affair was settled and the Interdict withdrawn in 1607; but Carleton's predecessor, Sir Henry Wotton, had done all he could to widen instead of to heal this breach between Venice and the Vatican. Wotton was a man of letters, a poet, and a diplomat. He had been taught Greek by Casaubon, he corresponded with Bacon about philosophy, he was an admirable linguist, Izaak Walton was his devoted disciple; he is said to have been the first English collector on the continent of Italian and German pictures, though on a small scale, and he was a relative of Dudley Carleton. As Ambassador to Venice, he was anxious to make the Venetian Republic an ally of England, and the circumstances of the times were not unfavourable.

There had been friction between Rome and Venice; there had been fracture between Rome and England; the interdict by the Pope upon Venice had immediately followed the Gunpowder Plot in London; the Venetian Republic had banished the Jesuits; the English Government had drawn, hanged, and quartered them. Here, thought Wotton, were some agreeable common factors between London and Venice.

If, for the reasons explained, the Jesuits were hateful at that time to the Venetians, they were even more so to Wotton. He wrote[1] of them as "this

[1] Page 66, Volume I, of "Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton," by Logan Pearsall Smith, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907, a

viperous brood," "these reverend cheaters," "these caterpillars of Christianity," "these prowling fathers," and he added: "I confess to have a special appetite to the packets which pass to and fro between these holy fathers," which meant that he stole their letters and read them. Mr. Pearsall Smith describes Wotton's methods.[1] "'I call that honest,' he writes, 'which tendeth to the discovery of such are not so, by what means soever'. . . . Some of the information acquired from these intercepted letters Wotton would hand on to the Venetian authorities; but as such things could not be mentioned in public audience, before spectators who might betray him to the Jesuits, he would arrange, by permission of the Council of Ten, a secret meeting at twilight in an empty Church, in order to make his communication without witnesses; so that in case of betrayal, as he frankly remarked, he would be able to swear that he had said nothing of the kind."

Wotton did all in his power to make a definite and permanent breach between Venice and the Papacy; but in this pious attempt, and yet more in his endeavour to induce the Venetian Republic to join the Union of Protestant Princes, he over-reached himself. He failed to realize that, while Venice did not hesitate to have her wrangles with the Pope, she was herself distinctly Catholic; and, in his efforts to

very interesting book from which much that immediately follows has been taken.

[1] "Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton," Vol. I, p. 64.

Protestantize[1] he only succeeded in irritating her, thereby leaving her in but a surly, though nominally friendly, humour towards England, for the reception of his successor in the Embassy, his relative, Sir Dudley Carleton.

In Venice, Dudley Carleton had to lead a life narrowly approaching complete isolation. With the exception of his occasional receptions at the Collegio of the Senate, he had little or no communication, or even means of communication, with the Government. So suspicious was the Republic of Foreign diplomats that a Venetian official, or any Venetian of Senatorial rank, who spoke to an Ambassador without special permission, was liable to imprisonment for life, and even to capital punishment.[2] Venice, however, had a special reason at that time for desiring to keep on a friendly footing with all the Ambassadors from Christian or so-called Christian countries; because she was never secure from attacks by the Turks. Reports of Turkish movements were constantly exciting and annoying the Venetian Government. One such report is given by our Ambassador below. In this particular case the Christians had been the aggressors.

[1] That splendid historian, Gardiner (Vol. II, pp. 145-7) says that Wotton thought "with indifference of that great cause of Protestantism". So he may have thought of it from a theological standpoint; but he evidently attempted to make use of Protestantism for political purposes to the utmost of his power and ability.

[2] Lettres Ecrites d'Italie, by De Brosses, Vol. I, p. 191, quoted in Smith's Life of Wotton. Vol. I, 55.

CARLETON TO TURNBULL, ENGLISH RESIDENT AT BRUSSELS.[1]

"VENICE, 15 *Nov.*, 1611."

Carleton wrote that the "Bishop of Arceo, with two other principals" and 500 men, imprudently attacked the house of the Turkish "Bassa of Giamina." They surprised "the place at unawares, slew many of his people, and set the house on fire. It was the Bassa's fortune by a quick flight to escape the fury of that fire and sword," whereupon he went round the adjoining villages and raised a strong force. "He returned back upon these Christians before they were yet departed. Upon the vulgar he used no extraordinary cruelty, but only struck off their heads and sent them in triumph to Constantinople. But, having found the Bishop and those other . . . the Bishop he flayed alive, the second he roasted alive, and gave the third to the Jews to torment, who put him on a cross, with a crown of needles on his head."

But Carleton was more concerned with merchandise than with martyrdoms. As the country which he represented was famous for its commerce and shipping, and as the city at which he was Ambassador was at that time one of the greatest mercantile centres in the world, much of his official business at Venice was concerned with trade, merchandise, and shippers, matters unsuited to description here.

[1] "Winwood's Memorials," Vol. III, p. 303.

CHAPTER III.

THE year 1612 was remarkable for two deaths in England, those of Henry, Prince of Wales, and the all-powerful Salisbury. To Dudley Carleton, the loss of Salisbury, his patron and benefactor, was infinitely the greater of the two. The great funeral ceremonies of 1612, however, were to be eclipsed by the marriage ceremonies which followed the opening of its successor.

The wedding of an English Princess, with whom Dudley Carleton was to have much to do a few years afterwards, took place on 14 February, 1613. Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I, was married to Frederic V, Count Palatine of the Rhine, a Calvinist, and generally believed to be the future representative of the Protestant interests in Germany. Rhymesters belauded the bride and the bridegroom in verses of this type:—

> As violets excel the humble briar,
> Lily the violets—that the rose disgraceth;
> Eliza so doth virgins. As stars, fire,
> Moon, stars; sun, moon; so Frederic all surpasseth;
> Both pass all others of all age or birth,
> Yet each of both doth equal other's worth.

And these paragons of perfection were at that time only sixteen years old.

Even the cool-blooded Dudley Carleton was destined to write in somewhat extravagant praise of this same "Eliza" at a later date. For the present, however, he had other things to think about.

In addition to his duties as an Ambassador, Carleton busied himself, at Venice, as a purchaser of works of art for others—it may or may not have been on his own judgment; but there can be no doubt that it was an occupation suited to his tastes. Details of his purchases shall be deferred until we come to consider Carleton's relations to art and the artistic world. For the present it will be sufficient to say that, at the time of his Embassy to Venice, the demand for antiques which had resulted from the Renaissance was still being supplied by merchant ships returning to Venice from the East: so Carleton had exceptional opportunities of purchasing them. As to pictures, there were still, as above said, painters of celebrity in Venice, although the decline in Italian painting had already begun; but Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese had painted there within the memory of Venetians yet living.

When the good-looking page, Robert Carr, who had taken the fancy of that notorious maker-of-pets King James I, had been successively created Baron Brancepeth, Viscount Rochester, and Earl of Somerset; and had advanced to a dangerous pinnacle of power, Dudley Carleton had purchased in Venice, "antique figures and heads of marble," as well as many pictures, and sent them to Somerset in England. Of

Portrait by Gerard Honthorst — From a Photograph by Emery Walker Ltd.

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA

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pictures he sent to Somerset five by Tintoretto, three by Paul Veronese, one by Bassano Vecchio, one (a Venus) by Titian, and one by Andrea Schiavone. The statuary consisted chiefly of figures and busts. Of these he sent between ninety and a hundred. When Somerset had been dethroned and the King's next pet, George Villiers, had been advanced from one honour to another, until he had become Duke of Buckingham and practically monarch of England, Carleton, as we shall see later, sent artistic treasures from abroad to this second influential favourite.

In April 1614, an inventory was delivered in England of the contents of twenty-nine cases of marbles, sent from Venice by Carleton to the Earl of Somerset in London. There is a receipted bill, of the same date, for £11 7s. 6d. expenses incurred in insurance, carriage, cleaning, and delivery of pictures sent from Venice by Carleton to Somerset, a sum which certainly does not seem excessive.

A few pages later, we shall find Carleton sending works of art to Lord Arundel; but this was almost to continue the collection made for Somerset; because when Somerset was confined in the Tower, in November, 1616, King James, generous at his prisoner's expense, gave all Somerset's pictures to Arundel, who was also destined to go to the Tower, in his turn, a few years later. (See "The Times," 10 Nov., 1911, p. 6.)

Readers of English history are aware that the fall and the imprisonment of Somerset were owing to his alleged complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas

Overbury, and that the scandalmongers of the day declared him to have escaped execution by threatening to reveal certain deeds of James's which would have ruined the moral character of that King. On 25 May, 1616, both Chamberlain and Edward Sherburn wrote accounts of the trial of the Earl and Countess to Carleton, who also received a letter on the same subject from Palavicino, written on the 29th. Chamberlain went to the trial and paid ten shillings for his seat. The trial of the Earl lasted ten hours, from midday till ten at night; that of the Countess lasted only a couple of hours. The Countess confessed everything: the Earl denied everything. Both were condemned to death. The carriage of Somerset "was undaunted, but his defence was weak". The behaviour of Lady Somerset was "the fairest, the gracefullest . . . for judgment, reverence, humbleness, discretion, that ever presented itself". In such an undertone did the High Steward pronounce sentence of death upon her, that she did not know she had been condemned. On hearing that they had been sentenced to death, said the scandalmongers—very possibly mendaciously—King James took to his bed in sheer fright at the idea of Somerset's disclosures; and in the face of the evidence, he gave both prisoners a reprieve, although neither the Earl nor the Countess were set at liberty for some years.

Very shortly after the marriage of Frederic and Elizabeth, arose the first beginnings of a complication in Italy which put Dudley Carleton's diplomatic powers to the test a couple of years later. Charles

Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, claimed rights to Montferrat, a territory lying between Savoy and Milan, to which the Duke of Mantua also laid claim. While the dispute was in progress, the Duke of Savoy took the law into his own hands, and occupied the little country. The Venetian Government was much disturbed at this quarrel. On the one hand, Venice feared lest the Duke of Savoy should become a dangerously powerful neighbour; on the other, she was afraid that if Spain were to come to the relief of that weak vassal of the Empire, Mantua, the Spaniards might take the opportunity of increasing their acquisitions and influence in the north of Italy. On the whole, the Venetians were inclined to give their sympathy to Mantua, their nearest neighbour, especially as its patron, Spain, would be better as a friend than as an enemy. Accordingly, the Doge and Senate wrote to Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian Ambassador in England:[1] "Everyone condemns Savoy for taking to arms while negotiations were proceeding, and for disturbing the public quiet. Mantua is judged to be in the right; and it is clear that France and Spain are of the same opinion, that the Duke must restore what he has taken, and that Mantua must be preserved in the possession of his States. We have resolved to support Mantua, a neighbouring and friendly Prince, and we are sending 300 foot, and more if required, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany has done."

Peter Paul Rubens, of whom we shall hear a good

[1] S.P. Venice, 2 May, 1613. No. 827.

deal presently, had been Gentleman of the Chamber and Court Painter to the Duke of Mantua from the year 1600 to 1608; but he and Carleton do not appear to have met until some years later. The Duke of Mantua possessed a splendid collection of pictures and statues, of which we shall hear more very much later in the book. A large number of them were eventually purchased by King Charles I.

In the year 1615, open war broke out between the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Mantua. The great nations professed to be anxious to put a stop to it, on the ground that, if persevered with, it might lead to a general war in the north of Italy. Several Ambassadors Extraordinary were sent to Turin, to try to negotiate a peace, and Dudley Carleton was ordered to go there on behalf of England; but apparently without any definite instructions as to his policy. He evidently assumed too readily that the policy of King James would be anti-Spanish, and he acted accordingly. Not very long before this order arrived he had once more offered his advice to the Doge and Senate of Venice, and with a rather unfortunate result.

"The Ambassador of England came into the Cabinet and said. . . . 'Nothing is more dangerous than to trust too much to the Spaniards, putting the affairs of Italy into their hands, as they seek to accomplish their ends by fraud and deceit'."[1] At one

[1] S.P. Venice, 22 Jan., 1615. "Collegio Secreta. Esposizioni Principi. Venetian Archives."

time, said Carleton, the Crown of Spain was "rich and prosperous, its subjects well off and skilful: now the one is loaded with debts and the others are poor and wretched". The emissaries of Spain in Italy are "flattering and caressing where they do not love, and showing contempt where they fear". They move heaven and earth "to disturb all friendly relations between the princes". The King of England is determined not to permit the Duke of Savoy "to be ruined by the violence of the Spaniards. . . . We see that the Spaniards propose to subject a free prince to their yoke. If they succeed, they will be encouraged to do the same in all Italy, and they will acquire such reputation that they will be on the highway to the dominion of Europe. . . . If the Spaniards will not listen to reason," King James is ready to assist the Duke of Savoy "in his just and necessary defence".

Carleton sent home a copy of this speech, and it got him into trouble. Winwood wrote to him on 25 February, 1615: (His Majesty) "doth find it strange that you should without charge upon premeditate and advised deliberation, in so public and solemn an assembly, adventure to make so sharp and bitter invective against so great a monarch as the King of Spain, with whom His Majesty by treaty doth live in amity".

It was seldom that Dudley Carleton received such a sharp reprimand as this from headquarters in the King's name; it must have been peculiarly discourag-

ing at such a difficult moment, and it had the ugly look of a prelude to a recall. The fact was that Carleton had had reasons for supposing the English Government to be intensely anti-Spanish ; but it so happened that, at the moment with which we are dealing, on account of a certain matrimonial scheme, James particularly wished to be on good terms with Spain ; and as Mantua was ruled by a Hapsburg Duke and looking to Spain for support, he was anxious to do nothing, in this dispute between Savoy and Mantua, likely to give annoyance to the Spanish Government. We have also seen that, at first, Venice was inclined to lean towards Mantua, or the Spanish side ; but later she showed more favour to Savoy. Actually, neither England nor Venice cared for either Mantua or Savoy ; but each feared that, if this local squabble were allowed to go on, it might lead to a general European war. Indeed the greater European Powers were then as anxious about the proceedings of the minor Powers in the north of Italy as the Great Powers have recently been anxious about the proceedings of the lesser Powers in the Balkans, and for much the same reason.

Lookers-on, proverbially, see most of the game; and, although Renier Zen, the Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, was a player as well as a spectator, he wrote so much about the part taken by Dudley Carleton, that he shall be called in as a witness. When he wrote of "England," or "The English Ambassador," he meant, of course, Dudley

Carleton. Some space must be devoted to this affair, as it was the chief means of establishing the credit of Carleton as a diplomat.

RENIER ZEN, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN SAVOY, TO THE DOGE AND SENATE. TURIN.[1]

"The English Ambassador has arrived. I sent my carriage with the Secretary and some gentlemen two miles out to meet him. This pleased him greatly and he thanked me warmly. . . . He showed me the greatest confidence and friendliness. . . . He had audience of his Highness (the Duke of Savoy) on the following morning, who received him with a very serious and grave manner, which greatly astonished the Ambassador and all his Court."

This looks as if the Duke of Savoy had received some hint of King James's inclination towards the side of his opponents, Mantua and Spain. "The other day," wrote Zen, "the Duke sent to say that he would like to come on Sunday evening to the feast in this house. I prepared a banquet, and the Duke sent me a barrel of oysters from Nice, saying that he would come and eat them with me. The Duke paid exceptional honour, such as possibly has never been rendered to an Ambassador's house, as, after the banquet, he went into the upper apartments and masked himself," with the Prince and his Court favourites, "all dressed in most sumptuously embroidered liveries: with more than forty persons in

[1] S.P. Venice No. 684, 1615. Mar. 3, Venetian Archives.

livery, pages and Court music, His Highness, with the Prince and others, performed a magnificent dance in figure of eight, after ordering a dance of twenty pages, lighted by two torches and accompanied by weird music, the whole executed so daintily that the English Ambassador was amazed. He told me that it did not seem possible it could be the same person who had been so wonderfully grave the other day. . . . The masque lasted until two in the morning. Thus, though the drums and trumpets are proclaiming war, the nights are passed with music and feasting."

When the Duke of Savoy was about to start for his campaign, Zen wrote on 7 April. "I have discovered the intentions of the Ambassadors with regard to keeping with the Court and following His Highness to the camp. England will follow and has to-day sent carriages to fetch his wife, whom he sent away, either to go to Venice or to come here, as he cannot leave. He told me he would go wherever he was commanded. France says he will remain at Turin, wherever the Duke may go."

"The Duke invited the English Ambassador to dine with him in the park, and afterwards they hunted, obtaining a bag of fourteen deer." This was a change from the cold reception which the Duke had given to Dudley Carleton on his first arrival.

"His Highness appears to be moving slowly in his preparations for war, though he is ready enough in giving orders. He has made a great show, but little money has been spent. A little while ago the

English Ambassador said that he was amazed at the slowness of the Duke in arming, seeing that the Spaniards were more numerous. . . . He (Dudley Carleton) believed that at bottom the Duke thought peace was certain. He said that he was quite dumbfounded at this way of negotiating, as one day they said one thing and the next another, and with all his reflection he could make nothing of it, as it seemed to him these things are the most confused that ever a man had been involved in, in any Court in the world. He asked me what I thought of it."

But Zen was not yet very certain about the good faith of Dudley Carleton himself. "With regard to England," he says, "although to all appearance he is working for peace, I believe that owing to the interests of Germany and of the Count Palatine, they would rather see fighting here far away from their own state, to divert it from those parts, than expose themselves to manifest danger by making peace. I remember what the Marquis of Urfe told me, that this Ambassador" (Dudley Carleton) "had said to him that he had asked Venice to urge the Duke not to disarm, or to wait until an agreement could be made with the States simultaneously. However, outwardly they advise peace and I pretend to believe it, although I know that they urge the Duke to arm, as I wrote in my last. I take neither one side nor the other, in order that I may not commit myself. But it has always seemed to me that the Spaniards and the French are in accord, and I wrote from

Vercelli that they certainly desire peace, but on two conditions, that they alone should be the arbiters of these arrangements in Italy, and that they should unite to humiliate the Duke."

On 28 April, Zen wrote: "The Duke is inclining towards peace. . . . The Ambassador of England says that the true way of guaranteeing the Duke against attack is to disarm together, and he sees no other way of settling these difficulties; but I believe does this in the interest of the Princes of Germany so that the forces may be disbanded and not fall upon those parts, as he does not consider that sending them elsewhere is disarming." There was probably a good deal of truth in this.

Early in May, Zen announced the arrival of Lady Carleton at Turin. "She has visited the Princes and is greatly honoured by the ladies of this Court."

When all was ready, the Duke of Savoy left Turin, its banquets, masques, and stag-hunts, for his camp, where his forces were drawn up before the walls of Asti, the capital of Montferrat. The Spanish troops were also encamped on the plain, and were endeavouring to drive the army of Savoy from its position. The Spaniards had probably gained some slight success, when on 16 May, Zen described Dudley Carleton as "much upset at the reverses which have befallen the Duke's army, because he fears that the Duke will be compelled to accept the conditions of peace proposed by the French" (i.e. that the Duke was to disarm first), "to which he says he also inclines

so far as they provide for the Duke's safety—but the uncertainty of the French Ambassador makes him doubt. He has as yet received no instructions from England."

It may be remembered that the French Ambassador had declared he would remain at Turin, wherever the Duke of Savoy might go; but, as it turned out, he was one of the first Ambassadors to go to the Duke near his camp at Asti. When the Duke heard that he was coming, he sent to ask him not to do so; but the Ambassador persisted.

The Duke sent messages to the English and Venetian Ambassadors, at the end of the month, asking them to assemble at a place which he appointed for them near his camp. A day or so after their arrival, the Duke met them, a little way from Asti, and invited them into his carriage. While they were talking in it, a message came that the French Ambassador had arrived and asked for a private audience. The Duke kept him waiting for some time, and then said that he would receive him with the other Ambassadors. A message presently came from the Frenchman, requesting an interview in private. The Duke refused, telling Carleton and Zen that the French Ambassador said such different things on different days that he wished to have witnesses present; but, finally, at their urgent request, he sent to say that he would see the French Ambassador alone. Leaving the English and Venetian Ambassadors, however, the Duke advanced with more than

a hundred persons to meet the Frenchman, in a field, talked to him for twenty minutes, and then called for the Ambassadors of England and Venice. It was between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. The Duke spoke to the French Ambassador "with some bitterness". As to something that the Duke had said, the Frenchman observed that he "would think it over," and he asked the Duke to put what he wanted "in writing". As the French Ambassador was leaving, the Duke turned to Zen and said: "Your Excellency will represent to him that matters of such importance are not treated in this fashion"; and Zen adds: "I took leave to fulfil this command," evidently *con amore*.

As we learn from a letter, written on 15 June, 1615, by Foscarini, from London, to the Doge and Senate, orders were being sent from England to Dudley Carleton, instructing him to reverse his policy. Hitherto Carleton had strongly recommended the Duke of Savoy not to disarm until his enemy disarmed; Carleton was now ordered to contradict himself—a great humiliation for an Ambassador,—and to urge the Duke of Savoy to be the first to disarm, taking the King of England's word for it that his enemy would not be very long in following his example. Carleton was to recommend, as conditions of a peace, that the Duke of Savoy should promise, in writing, not to attack Mantua; that the differences with regard to Montferrat should be referred to the Imperial Chamber; that nothing more should be said about any damages hitherto inflicted on either side;

that rebels should be pardoned, prisoners of war set free, and all places captured by either side since the war broke out, restored to their former owners.

On 3 June, Zen wrote to the Doge saying that after receiving instructions from England, Dudley Carleton was greatly disappointed, had a "downcast countenance" and "hinted that he did not care much about it." His chief objection to his instructions was that instead of a simultaneous disarmament on both sides, the Duke of Savoy was to be asked to be the first to lay down his arms, on the ground that he had been the first to take them up.

On the 10th, Zen wrote.[1]

"The Nuncio has come to live in the apartments prepared for him here. At his arrival the English Ambassador manifested an inclination to depart, as the quarters of all are very close together, and those assigned to England are almost contiguous to those of the Church."

The French Ambassador showed great partisanship for Spain. Dudley Carleton said that he would not show any favouritism to Spain, because he wished to seem the better Frenchman. The French Ambassador replied that, as for himself, while here everybody looked upon him as Spanish, in France everybody regarded him as a Huguenot; "and both were merry over their quarrels."

Presently a dispute arose between two of the other Ambassadors. One of them accused the other

[1] S.P. Venice, 10 June, 1615, No. 843.

of lying—the modern diplomatic term, "departing from accuracy of statement," apparently had not then been invented. Zen says that Dudley Carleton and he "interposed to prevent a scandal that would certainly have arisen had" they not done so. "The whole day was spent in arguing."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.[1]

"15 *June.*

"On Sunday morning the Duke sent for the English Ambassador and told him that he had decided that he no longer desired peace, and if he was to lose his liberty he would do so with his arms in his hands. He would write to the King (of England) to help him, because he was resolved upon war." Dudley Carleton "exhorted the Duke to peace," and then he went over to the Spanish Governor of Asti and persuaded him to promise that the Duke should not be attacked if he disarmed.

The next day the peace was practically settled; but a few days later, when the agreement had to be signed, says Zen (16 June), "We met to decide some disputes, because the Nuncio wishes to sign first and England is unwilling, not recognizing him as the Ambassador of a Prince". The next day he wrote: "Owing to differences between England and the Nuncio, there will be two separate documents, one for France, England, and Venice, the other for France, the Pope, and Venice. . . . The matter was settled at

[1] No. 844.

ten o'clock at night. . . . After this we supped in campaign waggons, the Nuncio and France in one, and England and I in the other."

By the use of two copies of the agreement, the Nuncio and Dudley Carleton were not to sign their names on the same document; therefore all punctilios on the question of precedence would be avoided. The agreement however, was not signed yet, and fresh difficulties were to arise.

The Duke of Savoy, while agreeing to disarm his army, raised for the war, wished to retain a larger army for garrisoning his fortresses than the treaty seemed to allow. For that purpose he added the words "on this side of the mountains," which would have given him a larger recruiting ground. "To this the French Ambassador objected." (Zen to the Doge, 22 June), "while we were disputing over it, the Duke arrived, and, calling England and myself aside, asked our opinion. After some discussion the Ambassador of France still insisted that the article should stand unaltered." Then the Duke rode off, much to the annoyance of the French Ambassador, who appealed to Dudley Carleton, and said that he should demand audience of the Duke on the following morning, and ask leave to return to France.

When the morning came (23 June), Zen "thought everything was broken off". Dudley Carleton and he met the French Ambassador on his way to take leave of the Duke. The Frenchman told Dudley Carleton "what had happened the previous evening,

and that he had made war on the Duke, to use his own words. He said the Duke wished to keep an army on foot to trouble others." Before leaving Carleton and Zen, the French Ambassador learned that the Duke refused to receive him ; although, for civility's sake, he " sent many messengers with various excuses ". The French Ambassador then declared that he would start for France early the next day, whether he got an audience of the Duke or not. The Ambassadors all met in the night to reconsider the whole situation, and they did not separate till two in the morning. The result was that after a few more trifling hitches, a definite peace was effected.

Zen gave a feast at which the Duke, Dudley Carleton, all the Ambassadors, with "some French cavaliers and forty ladies," were present. "They danced for several hours, when the Duke arrived with twenty huntsmen and took the (English) Ambassadress and ladies a-hunting for an hour in the greatest heat." One naturally wonders at what time the feast can have taken place, since the guests danced after it for several hours, and then went out hunting " in the greatest heat " ; but there are few moments in the whole twenty-four hours at which it would not be rather hot for hunting, at Turin, in July.

On the twenty-sixth, Zen wrote that Dudley Carleton " remained four days longer because he had an attack of his old trouble, gravel. This decided him not to go by boat, and he will travel by land, by the usual road through Milan. . . . The Duke and

Princesses have given presents to him, and subsequently to the Ambassadress."

On his return to Venice in August, Dudley Carleton went to the Senate, and, among other things, said[1] that James I had thought fit to make a counterpoise to the "unmeasured greatness" of the Confederation known as the Catholic League, a power lately much increased by marriages with France. The King of England had commanded him to suggest to the Doge and Senate of Venice that they should join this union.

Before the end of the month (on the 20th of August) a reply was read to this suggestion in the Cabinet, before Dudley Carleton. It lavished much praise and good-will upon both King James and Carleton; but the actual answer was contained in the following sentence, which was placed about the middle of the long address: "By thus working together our acts are more effective and carry more weight and are more free from suspicion than would be the case with an alliance". This, of course, was virtually a polite refusal to have anything whatever to do with the proposal.

Towards the end of the year 1615, Carleton was recalled to England, and his predecessor, Sir Henry Wotton, was sent to replace him. This was a curious change of Ambassadors, and it looked like a want of confidence in Dudley Carleton, who was not ostensibly removed from Venice in order to be appointed else-

[1] S.P. Venice, 1615, No. 97B, Venetian Archives.

where, although he may have received a private hint that another appointment would follow. Possibly King James may have fancied that the zealous and less scrupulous Anti-Papist, Wotton, would be more likely than Carleton to succeed in making mischief between Venice and Rome, and to entice the Venetians into the Anti-Catholic League. Not the less should it be remembered that Dudley Carleton considered the climate of Venice injurious to his health, and was anxious to leave it; but we may have doubts as to whether he would have felt any such anxiety if it had included the prospect of an entire loss of office.

While Diplomacy was Carleton's business at Venice, works of art were his pleasure, and it was there that he made a great collection of antiques which will figure largely in later chapters, especially in connection with Peter Paul Rubens. It is possible that he may have always been interested in pictures and statuary; but his embassy at Venice gave him unusual opportunities of studying them and cultivating his artistic tastes. In one more chapter, however, we must confine our attention to Policy, before beginning with Paint.

When Carleton returned to England, great changes had taken place during his absence. The death of Salisbury had altered the whole complexion of British politics. Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake were the Secretaries of State; the influence of the Earl of Somerset had been entirely

destroyed by the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; and an uncrowned king, who was to govern both the reigning sovereign and the country, had come into power in the person of the Court favourite, Sir George Villiers,[1] who was rapidly promoted from one honour to another until he was created Duke of Buckingham, in which *jouise* his position was one scarce, or never, attained by any other English subject, before or after his time.

As we shall see later, Dudley Carleton took care to get into the good graces of the new potentate; but it does not appear that he obtained his next appointment through the instrumentality of Villiers. For that appointment he had not long to wait, and it is believed that he obtained it through the influence of Winwood, who got him a post formerly occupied by Winwood himself, namely the Embassy at The Hague. Winwood, a worthy and sincere man, had a rough manner and a bad temper, and, in making this appointment, he did so in such an ungracious manner as to cause Dudley Carleton bitter annoyance. In a letter to Sir Thomas Edwards, he said of his reception by Winwood on this occasion: "I promised myself much contentment. I had my part of mortification, which notwithstanding was well tempered betwixt sour looks, curst words, and good deeds; so as I have the

[1] A few months later (31 May, 1616) Edward Sherburn wrote to Carleton, to inform him that the King had boxed the ears of Prince Charles for turning a hose of water upon Sir George Villiers.

less cause to complain, though with your Lordship, as with an ancient and inward friend, I must deal freely, that I cannot brag of my condition to live always *sub ferula* ". And a month later he was writing to the same correspondent about Winwood's " magisterial gravity and supercilious look ".

CHAPTER IV.

THE Embassy to the States General was one of the most important in the gift of the Crown; and with the exception of an interval of about twelve months, Dudley Carleton was destined to occupy it for a dozen years. The story of the revolt of the Netherlands against the rule of Spain is too well known to need notice here, beyond the remark that it began nearly fifty years before Dudley Carleton became Ambassador at The Hague, and that the temporary treaty between Spain and the Dutch, whereby the former practically acknowledged the independence of the latter, was made seven years before his arrival. Some time after the revolt of the Netherlands had taken place, Queen Elizabeth had been offered and had refused their sovereignty; but she had made a Treaty with them, by which she guaranteed her protection to the United Provinces, and at the same time annexed to her possessions several "cautionary towns" in those Provinces, which were to be occupied by her troops, until certain sums due to her from Holland had been duly paid. Another privilege which she obtained for her protection, and her patient endurance of the very dilatory payment of the debt in question, was the right to a seat in the Council of State of the

Union for the Ambassador of England at The Hague. England and its Ambassador, therefore, were much more than a friendly foreign country and the envoy of an ordinary foreign power to the United Provinces.

Although, through their revolt, the Netherlands had completely rid themselves from oppression by Spain, they had not secured perpetual peace at home. For years the Republic was disturbed by a struggle for supremacy between two different principles of government ; on the one side a quasi-personal and monarchical sovereignty under the Prince of Orange ; on the other a more or less parliamentary government consisting of deputies from the provinces, of which Holland was the most important, under a sort of perpetual Prime Minister, or Chancellor, bearing the title of the Advocate, and in later times, that of the Grand Pensionary of Holland. The office of Stadholder, which carried with it supreme military command and judicial power in the various provinces, was held by the Prince of Orange, and became in fact hereditary in his house. A good deal of rivalry existed between the Stadholder and the Advocate, and at the time of Dudley Carleton's assumption of office at The Hague, the Advocate, John Barnevelt, had become almost the Dictator of the Netherlands.

In the dispute between the two rival parties, religion, or what professed to be religion, was conspicuous. Barnevelt was an Arminian.[1] The Arminians

[1] A follower of Hermansen, whose name was Latinized into Arminius.

believed that Christ died for all men; that salvation was open to everybody; and that it depended upon the right use of free will. They also thought it well that the Church should be under the patronage of the State.

The Prince of Orange was a Calvinist. Calvin had taught that Christ died for certain people only; that each person is saved or damned from birth; that no exercise of the free will, right or wrong, can possibly affect his eventual destiny; and that, instead of the Church being under the patronage of the State, the State ought to be under the patronage of the Church.

Of King James's attitude towards these two Protestant factions Motley says:[1] "In England he favoured Arminianism because the Anglican Church recognized for its head the temporal chief of the State. In Holland he vehemently denounced the Arminians, indecently persecuting their preachers and statesmen, who were contending for exactly the same priniciple —the supremacy of State over Church. He sentenced the Calvinistic Bartholomew Legat to be burned alive in Smithfield as a blasphemous heretic, and did his best to compel the States of Holland to take the life of the Arminian, Vorstius of Leyden. He persecuted the Presbyterians in England as furiously as he defended them in Holland." This is exaggeration. Moreover it is inaccurate. Some authorities would say that it is the result of an extraordinary misappre-

[1] "Life and Death of John Barnevelt," Vol. I, p. 55.

hension ; others that it is a travesty of history. It is merely quoted here because Motley is a specialist on the Dutch Republic, and because, beneath his fiction, in this instance, there is a certain substratum of fact. As a whole, his historical works are of great value and are generally recognized as such.

Special injunctions were given by James to Dudley Carleton in the matter of religious zeal. "You shall not forget," he modestly wrote, "that you are the Minister of that Master whom God hath made the sole protector of his religion," i.e. King James.

In addition to Arminianism and Calvinism, Free Will and Predestination, disputes between England and Amsterdam about the navigation of Greenland and the whale fishery, the exportation of cloth, the Scottish fishery, and the East Indian territorial and commercial rights, made Dudley Carleton's work at The Hague more complicated and more difficult than it had been at Venice.

Motley says[1] that "the unquestioned supremacy in what was deemed the greatest of all sciences invested the person of Maurice of Nassau with a grandeur which many a crowned potentate might envy"; and that Barnevelt,[2] "the Advocate and Keeper of the Great Seal," was "virtually Prime Minister, President, Attorney General, Finance Minister, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the whole republic." In a country which had only lately obtained its independence and had scarcely yet made up its mind as to

[1] "Barnevelt," Vol. I, p. 6, 153. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

the sovereignty, or other supreme power, by which it intended to be governed, two men in the position of Maurice and Barnevelt were almost certain to be rivals.

Carleton, held a brief in defence of Predestination, and he advocated it to the best of his ability.

As to what the personal views of this gifted Ambassador may have been upon the subject of Predestination, or whether he had any at all, there is little, if any evidence. To him, as agent of the British Government, Predestination was simply a weapon in the battle of diplomacy. "Nothing in diplomatic history,"[1] says Motley, "is more eccentric than the long sermons upon abstruse points of divinity and ecclesiastical history which the English Ambassador delivered from time to time before the States General in accordance with elaborate instructions drawn up by his sovereign with his own hands." These, readers shall be spared.

The Church was very militant at Delft and Rotterdam.[2] "There was this last week in Delft," wrote Carleton, "an uproar in the Church where an Arminian preacher by order of the magistrate stept into the pulpit; but, on the first sight of him, in place of a psalm, he was cried down by the voice of the people, and hardly escaped their fury. The like accident happened not long before in a village near Rotterdam, where the magistrates of that town came

[1] Vol. II, pp. 111, 156.

[2] Carleton to Winwood, 1 Sept., 1617, 159.

as judges to hear two ministers dispute; and about 1000 people were there as auditors. But before they could agree upon the question, or upon the form of their argument, the fray was parted, as they do in Fleet Street, with clubs, the people falling together by the ears, some with daggers and some with knives, and happy was he, even of the magistrates themselves, that could save his skin."

Since his arrival at The Hague, Carleton had been at great pains to impress upon the Dutch that his King was no friend of their enemies the Spaniards. But early in 1617, news arrived which caused him consternation, and on January the 24th he wrote to Winwood:—

"Here hath been lately a fame spread abroad and nourished by such as desire to weaken the correspondency betwixt His Majesty and this State, that His Majesty is in near terms of matching our Prince with Spain." A "secret minister," whom the Dutch kept in that country, had reported "that this match hath been there, by order of the king of Spain, debated by the inquisition and judged necessary, in regard it would serve for the introduction of Popery into England[1]. This I find to be the remora[2]" (cause of

[1] At least one person, however, entertained a hope that instead of Spain Catholicizing England, England might Protestantize Spain; for on 20 March, 1617, Gerrard wrote to Carleton that Lady Dorset had taken a bet of £40,000 to £2000 against King James converting King Philip.

[2] A word certainly not used in everyday modern conversation, but to be found in Johnson's Dictionary, "Remora, n.f. (Latin)

delay) "of my chief affairs with this State, my pressing the restitution of the towns in Cleves and Juliers being thought by many of these jealous people to hang on this thread, as a thing very acceptable and agreeable at this time to the king of Spain, and much advantageous in this present conjucture to his affairs."

A few months later, his correspondent was dead. Ralph Winwood, Secretary of State, died on 27 October, 1617. Lloyd, in his "State Worthies" (Vol. II, p. 116, Ed. 1766) quaintly describes him as "a gentleman well seen in most affairs, but most expert in matters of trade and war. . . . The ends and designs of most people were clear and transparent to this man's intelligence and observation, who could do more with King James by working on his fear than others by gratifying his pleasure."

Carleton made great efforts to obtain the Secretaryship after Winwood's death, but although, when last in England, he had endeavoured to gain the favour of Villiers, he had not then fully realized how rapidly the future Buckingham was rising into omnipotence, or how all-important it was to secure his patronage at any cost; and, possibly for that reason, Carleton did not then get the Secretaryship. King James had not yet made, at the Council table, the notorious speech in which he said: "I, James, . . . confess to loving those dear to me more than other men. Jesus Christ

(1) A let or obstacle; (2) A fish, or kind of worm that sticks to ships, and retards their passage through the water."

did the same, and therefore I cannot be blamed. Christ had his John, and I have my George."[1]

As James's Ambassador, Dudley Carleton had to act in opposition to Barnevelt, because he believed him to be endeavouring to alienate the States General from the influence and support of England, and to transfer them to the support and influence of France, to which end, wrote Carleton to James, Barnevelt kept "sweetening from time to time all differences with that Crown; and, on the contrary, nourishing alienation betwixt Your Majesty's kingdoms and these provinces." In the year 1618, Barnevelt, an old man of seventy-two, made apparently older still by frequent illnesses, and reduced to leaning upon a stick, was no longer able to continue the hard-fought battle against the Prince of Orange. His friends urged him to leave The Hague and retire to some town where he and his cause were popular; but he refused. Other friends went farther and spoke of vague rumours that he might even be arrested. He lifted his hat and thanked them courteously for the warning; but he did not act upon it.

On 19 August, Dudley Carleton wrote to King James:—

"Yesterday being Wednesday, about nine in the morning Monsieur Barnevelt being going to the assembly of Holland (to which the way lies by the Prince of Orange's lodgings in the Court), was called

[1] Gondomer to the Archduke Albert, Oct. 2/12, 1617. Madrid Palace Library, quoted by Gardiner, Vol. III, p. 98.

IOANNES AB OLDENBARNEVELT
EQVES D. BERKELIÆ RODERISÆ &c.
ADVOC. ET CVSTOS MAGNI SIGILLI
ET ARCHIVOR. HOLL. ET WESTFR. &c.
Hanc eximij viri effigiem
ex vultu expressit Michael Johannes a Mierevelt
pictor, Delfensis, ari incidit Wilhelmus Delff.
Wilh. Ioh. exc. Amsterd.

BARNEVELT

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

up by a servant of the Prince under colour to speak with him; and there in the first room was stayed by the lieutenant of his Excellency's guard, and arrested in the name of the States General. The like was done to Grotius."

The charges on which Barnevelt was arrested and eventually brought to trial are stated by Dudley Carleton in a letter to Naunton, the new Secretary of State (6 May, 1619): "many particularities tending to the change of religion, disunion of the provinces, abrogating the authority of the high court of justice, confusion of the finances, disgracing his Excellency, crossing the States' public orders and dispatches to their ambassadors and ministers abroad by his private letters and directions, abusing some of the best friends and allies of this State, and receiving large presents and sums of money of other princes and potentates."

It may be taken as certain that Dudley Carleton had never intended, never wished, to bring Barnevelt into such a position as this; but the States General were anxious for the support and influence of England. It was known that King James detested Barnevelt, and that Carleton, the Ambassador of King James, sided with the Prince of Orange; therefore the influence of Carleton, possibly unknown to himself, may have helped to bring about the ruin of Barnevelt.

At about half-past five, on the evening of 12 May, 1619, Barnevelt was sitting in his prison chamber, thinking over his defence for the next sitting of his

judges, when three officials of the government entered the room and informed him that he was to appear before his judges the next morning to hear his sentence of death.

"The sentence of death! The sentence of death! The sentence of death!" he exclaimed. "I never expected that! I thought they were going to hear my defence again. I had intended to make some change in my previous statements."[1]

"After some pause, and biting his lip," wrote Dudley Carleton,[2] "'Is it,' said he, 'your manner to condemn a man unheard?' The other fiscal replied, 'You have been sufficiently heard, and the sentence is grounded upon your own confessions.' 'If,' said Barnevelt in anger to the fiscal, 'your father could have known his son should have brought me this message, he would have wished he had never begot you'."

After describing, at considerable length, Barnevelt's interview that evening with a minister of religion, with whom he "supped well," Dudley Carleton wrote details of what happened the next morning. Soon after eight o'clock, Barnevelt was taken before his judges, in the chamber of audiences, and the sentence of death and confiscation of goods was read to him.

"I have served," said he, "the generality, thirty-three years as Advocate of Holland, and the town of

[1] Motley, Vol. II, p. 362.
[2] Carleton to Naunton, 6 May.

Rotterdam ten years before as Pensionary; and for my fidelity and diligence I deserved a better recompense. If you will have my blood, yet methinks you may spare my goods, without ruining, for my sake, my wife and children."

Dudley Carleton goes on to describe "his faint voice and dejected countenance". . . . "The President telling him, he had heard his sentence, to which he was to submit himself, he recollected himself, and rose presently from his seat, and was conducted immediately through the great hall to the scaffold, which, being full of people as he passed, and many of his friends and acquaintance, he took knowledge of none, carrying the same high countenance, as he always used, both there and on the scaffold. . . . His servant, when the preacher had ended praying by him, was overheard to say in his ear: 'No grace' (pardon) 'comes'. 'Then,' said he, 'let us dispatch'; and from that time forward in disarraying himself (whereon he was only helped by his servant) and covering his eyes with his night-cap (which he did with his own hands, and with that haste and fury that he wounded his face with his nails) he was observed to tremble and look pale; which by the beholders was ascribed rather to indignation and rage than fear or faintness."

This account was based upon hearsay: for Dudley Carleton, in the same letter, says to Naunton: "I beseech your honour to hold me excused in such circumstances, as you may observe in this relation, to

differ from what I wrote" in a former letter. "For a jealousy that those who laboured for his life, would seek to cast the envy of his death (as they have since done) upon such as did not run the same course"—he evidently meant himself among that number—"made me restrain those of my family from being present either at the reading of the sentence or at the execution".

In the letters of Dudley Carleton about the arrest, trial, and execution of Barnevelt, there is no trace of bitter feeling towards him, triumph at his ruin, or approval of his condemnation to death. Politically, he was of course glad that a man whom he had orders to oppose should have fallen from power; but there is nothing in his letters showing any personal animosity. If anything, the tone of his dispatches describing the later phases of Barnevelt's life is rather sympathetic than otherwise. Moreover, in none of the extant manuscripts relating to Dudley Carleton is there any trustworthy evidence that he was of a vindictive, malignant, or spiteful disposition. Even Barnevelt himself admitted almost as much when, in a letter to Caron, the Dutch Ambassador to England, he wrote: "I fear that Mr. Carleton gives too much belief to the envious of our peace and tranquillity under pretext of religion; but it is more from ignorance than malice."

CHAPTER V.

THE diplomatic duties of Dudley Carleton had brought him into touch with the two countries which were the chief homes of painters, and the principal depositories of pictures, Italy and the Netherlands. His love of art, which, as we have seen, had become much developed at Venice, increased yet more at The Hague ; or, if not his love of art, at any rate his zeal as a collector.

Before plunging into the subject of pictures, it may be worth while to consider the period in the history of painting at which Dudley Carleton lived. At the time of his birth, Michael Angelo had been dead only nine or ten years, Tintoretto nineteen years, Titian forty-five years, Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci rather more than fifty years. Among the painters living during some part of Carleton's own life, were Rubens, Vandyke, Velasquez, Rembrandt, Murillo (but a boy), Guido Reni, Domenichino, Guercino, the Caracci, Franz Hals, Ribera, Poussin, and Claude.

If England has been surpassed by other countries in artists, few, if any, countries are more celebrated for collections of works of art. Statuary, paintings, gems, china and bric-a-brac of all kinds have been

brought to Great Britain from every part of the globe, and our collections are as remarkable for their variety as for their quality.

Waagen ("Treasures of Art in Great Britain," Vol. I, p. 7) says that Henry VIII was the first Englishman to form a collection of pictures. No doubt this is true, so far as royalty is concerned, but the first British subject to collect them personally on the Continent, on anything like an extensive scale, was Dudley Carleton. He collected for himself as well as for others. Wake at Turin, Zerbier at Brussels, Roe at Constantinople, and Lord Aston at Madrid bought works of art for rich men in England; but they were not large collectors on their own account. The British subjects who made the largest collections of works of art in the first quarter of the seventeenth century were Arundel, Somerset, and Buckingham; but the two first got others to collect for them on the Continent, where Buckingham began to collect personally later than Carleton.

Statuary had evidently attracted much of Carleton's attention at Venice. If he had an artistic eye, he had also an eye to business, and a combination of these two distinct and highly developed faculties of vision enabled him to see that the purchase of works of art and their presentation to men of influence, or even the careful and laborious execution of commissions to buy works of art to oblige great men, might, like bread cast upon the waters, return unto him in many days—if not sooner. To do either was per-

fectly legitimate, and it was a far more justifiable method of "getting on" than certain nefarious practices then in vogue among place-hunters.

Carleton did not patronize art and artists from mere mercenary motives. In the dedication upon an engraving by Delff of a portrait of Carleton by Miereveldt, he is described not only as "an admirer of the art of painting," but as "himself practising the art with great distinction". If we have no examples of his painting, we have a specimen of his art-criticism in a letter which he wrote to Chamberlain from The Hague in October, 1616. At Haarlem, "the painters were the chiefest curiosity; whereof one Cornelius for figures, who doth excel in colouring, but errs in proportions". This artist visited England in the reign of Henry VIII and was appointed painter to the King. "Vrom hath a great name for representing of ships and all things belonging to the sea; wherein indeed he is very rare, as may appear by the prices of his works, when a Burgher of Alemar gave him for a fight which [Sir Richard] Grenville made in the Revenge,[1] £200 sterling; and

[1] But Sir Richard cried in his English pride,
We have fought such a fight for a day and a night
As may never be fought again!
We've won great glory, my men!
And a day or more, at sea or ashore
We die—does it matter when?
Sink me the ship, Master Gunner—sink her, split her in twain!
Fall into the hands of God, not into the hands of Spain!

TENNYSON—*The Revenge.*

his son for the battle of Lepanto (which is not above a yard and a half long and a yard broad) doth demand and stick hard at £120. Goltius is yet living, but not like to last throughout another winter; and his art decays with his body. At Amsterdam I saw many good pieces (pictures) but few good painters; that place being in this commodity, as in others, the warehouse rather than the workhouse."

Besides the large consignment for Somerset, Dudley Carleton, while in Italy, purchased on his own account a great deal of antique statuary, which, as we shall see, served for a valuable medium of barter in Holland. At about that period many antiques had been, and were still being, brought from Constantinople to Venice. Sir Thomas Roe, when English Ambassador at Venice, wrote to Arundel (1 May, 1623): "Antiquities in gold and silver of the ancient Greeks, from Alexander downward, and many Romans more ancient, are here to be gathered; but so dear by reason the last French Ambassador made great search. . . . I may also light on some pieces of marble by stealth. . . . On Asia side, about Troy, Zozicum, and all the way to Aleppo are innumerable pillars, statues, and tombstones of marble, with inscriptions in Greek; these may be fetched and charged secretly; but if we ask leave, it cannot be obtained," i.e. they could be stolen if the thieves were paid highly enough. Arundel had sent his chaplain to the East to find antiquities for him; and he wrote to Roe that his chaplain had discovered "six fine pieces

in a wall at Constantinople. . . . I know, either for some crowns to the Pasha, they may be had, or else stolen for money by the Turks, they caring not for them".

Men of the type of Roe and Arundel unintentionally did much mischief by encouraging the ransacking of ruins and the tearing away of ancient inscriptions and carvings from their places, without any proper record of where they were found, or of their surroundings. Inscriptions, especially, are worthless apart from their context.

Peter Paul Rubens was a man of about forty-one at the time of Carleton's arrival in Holland, and, although Rubens lived at Antwerp and Carleton at The Hague, a correspondence was easily carried on between the English Ambassador and one of the greatest painters then living. Carleton, however, had been at Antwerp, of which he wrote (1616), as "*magna civitas, magna solitudo*, for in the whole time we spent there I could never set my eyes in the whole length of a street upon forty persons at once: I never met coach, nor saw man on horseback. . . . In many places grass grows in the streets. . . . *Splendida paupertas*, fair and miserable".

Rubens had reached the zenith of his fame, the picture usually considered his finest masterpiece, the "Descent from the Cross," having been finished a couple of years before the appearance of Dudley Carleton in Holland; consequently his pictures could no longer be purchased at bargain prices.

Dudley Carleton, at about the time of his arrival at The Hague, seems to have commissioned his old friend, Toby Matthew, who was then at Antwerp, to persuade Rubens to let him have a "piece of huntinge" which that artist had painted, in exchange for a certain "chain of diamonds"; but Rubens stated his lowest price to be £84 down in hard cash, whereas £50 was the highest offer that Toby Matthew had been able to obtain for the chain from the diamond merchants at Antwerp. Matthew, however, did not think that Dudley Carleton was much the worse for missing the chance of acquiring this work of art, which was "so very bigge that none but great Princes have houses fitt to hange it up in". The picture was 18 feet long and 12 feet high; and Rubens afterwards got £100 for it. "The large size of a picture," wrote Rubens, "gives us painters more courage to represent our ideas with the utmost freedom and semblance of reality."

Less than six months later,[1] Toby Matthew wrote to Carleton that Rubens was painting a smaller picture of the same "Peace of Huntinge," for which he would accept either the diamond chain or £50. Even this smaller canvas was 11 feet long and 8 feet high. Of this picture and its predecessor, Toby Matthew wrote: "Concerning the causing of any part thereof to be made by Snyders, that other famous painter, your lordship and I have been in error; for I thought as you do, that his hand had been in that

[1] 15 Feb., 1617.

piece ; but sincerely and certainly it is not so. For in this piece the beasts are all alive, and in act either of escape or resistance, in the expressing whereof Snyders doth infinitely come short of Rubens, and Rubens saith that he should take it in ill part, if I should compare Snyders with him in that point. The talent of Snyders is to represent beasts, but especially birds, altogether dead, and wholly without any action."

George Gage, who acted as an agent for Dudley Carleton, wrote in 1617, saying that he had purchased for Carleton a picture by Snyders, at £12, and a picture by John Breughel, at £14. But, in the following year began a far more important transaction in works of art for Dudley Carleton.[1] "Most Excellent Sir," wrote Rubens to Carleton (Antwerp, 7/17, 1617-18), "Having heard from many persons of the rarity of the antiques which Your Excellency has gathered together, I longed to come to see them, but," for reasons then given, "this idea has been given up. Still, Your Excellency having expressed to Mr. Gage that you would determine on making some exchange with me for pictures by my hand, I, as being fond of antiques, would readily be

[1] This and many of the other letters relating to Rubens and Carleton, which are quoted here, are translations rendered in Mr. Noel Sainsbury's "Original and Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Preserved in H.M. State Paper Office." London: Bradbury and Evans, 1859. In its Appendix are documents from the Arundel, Somerset, Great Mantuan, Buckingham, Gentileschi, Gerbier, and several other collections.

disposed to accept any reasonable offer, should Your Excellency continue of the same mind." He then says that he sends the letter by a "gentleman called Francis Pieterssen de Grebbel," who will hand to Carleton a list of the pictures which Rubens would offer in exchange, and he asks Carleton to allow de Grebbel to make an inventory of the antiques.

On April 18/28, 1618, Rubens again wrote to Carleton . . . Carleton had told Rubens's agent exactly what the antiques had cost him, and Rubens wrote: "I wish wholly to confide on your knightly word . . . and in this I beg you will be pleased to confide on the word of an honest man. I have at present in my house the very flower of my pictorial stock, particularly some pictures which I have retained for my own enjoyment; nay, I have repurchased for more than I sold them to others. . . . If Your Excellency will make up your mind to place the same reliance in me that I do in you, the thing is done. I am content to give Your Excellency of the pictures by my hand, enumerated below, to the value of six thousand florins, of the price current in ready money, for the whole of those antiques that are in Your Excellency's house, of which I have not yet seen the list, nor do I even know the number, but in everything I trust your word. . . . With reverence I kiss your hands. From Your Excellency's most affectionate servant, Peter Paul Rubens."

Possibly a caviller may be of the opinion that Rubens's reiteration of his confidence in the honour

Drawn by himself

Photograph by Braun et Cie

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and the word of Carleton may have been intended to impress upon him the importance of in no way abusing that confidence.

In his reply (27 April/8 May) Carleton thanked Rubens for his "most agreeable letter" and for the list of his pictures. From this list he rejected a "Last Judgment" described by Rubens as "begun by one of my scholars" but "entirely retouched by my own hand"—now in the Pinakothek at Munich;[1]—"A Hunt," also begun by a pupil and retouched by Rubens, "The Twelve Apostles," "done by my scholars, from originals from my own hand," which were about "to be retouched by my hand"—they are now in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome; an "Achilles," a "most brilliant picture, and full of many beautiful young girls done by the best of my scholars," but touched up by Rubens—it is now in the Prado, in Spain, and Rooses describes it as being a perfect blend into an artistic harmony of style of the work of Rubens and of Vandyck—and lastly a "Susanna" done in a similar manner. All these pictures Carleton rejected, because they were not, strictly speaking, originals of the great master. A "Crucifixion," "perhaps the best thing I have ever done," twelve feet high, Carleton refused on account of its size. These rejected pictures were valued by Rubens at more than 3000 florins. Therefore Carleton proposed to sell his statuary, valued at 6000 florins, to Rubens, their

[1] "Peter Paul Rubens," by R. A. M. Stevenson, p. 44.

price to be paid half in pictures, and half in "tapestry of Brussels manufacture."

Having expressed his great regret at the inability of Rubens to come to The Hague, "where my house is yours," in order "not to buy, as one is wont to say, the cat in the bag," Carleton goes on to say: "You, Sir, may calculate on having in this collection of marbles the most precious *in hoc genere*, which no prince or private person, whoever he may be, on this side the mountains can have." His own reason for parting with them, he tells Rubens, is that "to persons who are always in motion," such as Ambassadors, a gallery of statues "is not convenient," as it is easy to suppose; besides this, he adds: "sometimes people change their minds, and mine has shifted within a short time, from sculptors to painters, but more particularly to Mr. Rubens". His ending is even more cordial than that of his correspondent: "With much affection, Sir, I kiss your hands. From your most affectionate at command, Dudley Carleton."

From the more than intimate tone of their letters, it is reasonable to infer that they must have known each other for some time. Where, it is doubtful; for, as has already been said, Rubens had left Italy for Antwerp a couple of years before Carleton went to Venice.

On 2/12 May, Rubens wrote that, by Carleton's "very agreeable letter" he perceived he had "in part changed his mind". He assured Carleton that

the rejected pictures were not "mere copies," but that they were retouched, or would be retouched, to such an extent "that with difficulty they would be distinguished from originals, notwithstanding which they are put down at a much lower price". Then he says to Carleton: "The reason . . . I would treat more willingly in pictures (than in tapestry) is clear, because (although ?) they do not exceed their just price in the list, nevertheless they cost me nothing, and every one is more prodigal of the fruits which he grows in his own garden than of those that he buys in the markets; and I have expended this year some thousands of florins on my buildings, nor am I willing for a caprice to exceed the bounds of a good economist". If Carleton was still bent upon having tapestries, Rubens would procure for him 2000 florins' worth of them, to which he would add the 3000 florins' worth of pictures already chosen by Carleton, and 1000 florins' worth of pictures selected by Carleton out of those which he had at first refused.

Within a week Carleton had accepted this offer. Rubens begged to be allowed to delay the transmission of the pictures already finished; "the fact is that they are not perfectly dry; on the contrary, they require to remain on their stretching frames for some days yet before they can be rolled up without danger." Rubens had experienced difficulty in finding suitable tapestries. "At present there is little that is good in the manufactory of tapestries at Brussells"; and he "conjured" Carleton

to accept the 2000 florins in good money, instead of in bad tapestry. The "least bad" tapestry that Rubens could find was a History of Camillus. Carleton replied that he would like to have Camillus; and that he had heard of some tapestries made at Brussels after cartoons by Rubens, "rarities" which he should like to acquire also; "so that this our bargain serves only as a commencement to a more extended correspondence between us. . . . The Susanne ought to be beautiful to enamour even old men, and for the discretion I must not be fastidious, coming from the hand of a person so prudent and honourable; and thus I have conformed in all and every part to the contents of your two last letters, saving that I cannot subscribe to your denial of being a Prince, because I esteem you the Prince of Painters and of Gentlemen, and to that end I kiss your hands."

Four days later, Rubens wrote, quaintly describing a picture not on the list which he was sending to Carleton. "It is a subject as it were neither sacred nor profane; namely, Sarah in the act of scolding Hagar, who, pregnant, is leaving the house in a feminine and graceful manner, with the assistance of the Patriarch Abraham." This work is now at Grosvenor House. As usual, Rubens had not painted the background of the picture. "I have engaged, as is my custom, a very skilful man in his pursuit, to finish the landscapes, solely to augument the enjoyment of Your Excellency; but as to the rest, be

assured I have not suffered a living soul to put a hand on them, from the desire not only of most punctually abiding by my promise, but to increase that obligation of desiring to live and die Your Excellency's most devoted servant."

Rubens had sent a list of his pictures to Carleton. Only those known to have been purchased by Dudley Carleton are named below.

"500 florins. A Prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an Eagle which pecks his liver. Original, by my hand, and the Eagle done by Snyders, 9 feet high by 8 broad." Thus Rubens admitted the fact that Snyders occasionally worked on his pictures.

"600 florins. Daniel amidst many Lions, taken from the life. Original, the whole by my hand. 8 × 12".

This picture was presented by Dudley Carleton to Charles I. It afterwards passed into the hands of the Dukes of Hamilton; and, when the Hamilton Palace Collection was sold at Christie's, in 1882, it was purchased for Mr. Beckett Denison at £5145—the author remembers a would-be art critic saying, on that occasion: "The lions, of course, are by Snyders"—but three years later, when, in its turn, the Beckett Denison Collection was sold at Christie's, it realized only £2100. Some of the lions in it are pretty good; but the figure of Daniel is unsatisfactory—he looks terribly frightened—and it is very far from being one of Rubens's greatest works.

Rubens continued his list: "600 florins, 3 Leo-

pards, taken from the life, with Satyrs and Nymphs. Original, by my hand, except a most beautiful Landscape, done by the hand of a master skilful in that department, 9 × 11.

" 500 florins. A Leda, with Swan and a Cupid. Original, by my hand, 7 × 8.

" 500 florins. St. Peter taking from the fish the money to pay the tribute, with other fishermen around ; taken from the life. Original by my hand, 7 × 8".

This is probably a version of the left wing of " The Miraculous Draught of Fishes " in the church of Notre Dame, at Malines.

" 600 florins. A Hunt of Men on Horseback and Lions, commenced by one of my pupils, after one that I made for His Most Serene Highness of Bavaria, but all retouched by my hand. 8 × 11.

" 300 florins. A St. Sebastian, naked, by my hand. 7 × 4.

" 300 florins. A Susanna, done by one of my scholars ; the whole, however, retouched by my hand. 7 × 5."

Dudley Carleton also bought from Rubens "A European Hunt, with Wolves and Foxes. The whole by Rubens."

As to the marble antiques, collected by Carleton in Italy, and to be given to Rubens in exchange for his pictures, they had been sent from Venice to London, and from London to The Hague. Among these was a figure of a boy, another " boy wanting leggs and

armes," and "a boy ryding upon a dolphin". Then there was "a halfe body" and "halfe a foote". "A great figure marked B," was probably a statue of some size, as may have been "A Great figure marked G" and "A great head marked 75". In contrast to these were "A little face," "4 small feete" and three "little heads". "The great hand which came from Troy" sounds interesting. "Three Woman Figures" may have been the Graces. There were two Cupids, a Leda, a Satyr, and several pedestals. What are called "flatt stones with figures" must have been *rilievos*, of which there were a good many. There were "Urnas," both great and small. Altogether there were considerably over a hundred pieces, and it sounds a most interesting collection, which Rubens may well have desired to possess. That it was not exclusively antique is proved by the presence of a "small figure of St. Sebastian".

Having heard that his cousin, Sir Michael Dormer, possessed "certain heads and small statues of stone," Carleton wrote (20 Feb., 1616-17) to Chamberlain asking him to tell Sir Michael that he "would gladly send him arms, or what he likes best in this country, if he will part with them: for since I am by mischance made a master of such curiosities, I desire to perfect my cabinet as well as I may."

No exchange, however, took place between Dormer and Carleton, and, worse still, on 25 March, Carleton wrote to Chamberlain: "I find some of my own heads wanting, and those of chief note in my

memorials . . . they being purloined either in the custom house, or in the steelyard; for all the chests that were sent from Venice came well to London; and as many as were sent from thence were safely delivered here" (at The Hague) "so as what is lost must be where they should have been safest".

His friend, and occasional agent, "Ned Sherburne," who was successively Secretary to Salisbury, Bacon, and the East India Company, had been entrusted with their re-packing in England; and, when Carleton missed some of his antiques, he "sett him uppon the search for them". The result was an indignant letter from Sherburne to Carleton (25 April, 1617).

"I cannot tell your Lordship how much it grieves me that I am so unfortunate (notwithstanding all my care and circumspection) as to be suspected for a dishonest man. I find by Mr. Chamberlain, that your Lordship hath advertized him that many of your principal and chief heads of your antiquities are missing, and embezzled from thence, where you conceived they should have been most safe. To make my apology for this I need not, neither will I, because I can answer and that truly, that since the landing of them at the steelyard (where beside myself many of your Lordship's own servants were present) and since they were placed there by yourself, not any one of them hath been impaired. And from thence I can answer likewise that they were all and every one of them safely packed up in my view and presence, not stirring from thence, from the first beginning of their

packing, until they were finished, nailed and hooped. And yet more, I left them not here, but went with them on shipboard, and there likewise remained, until I had seen them all safely stowed under the hatches; so as how it is possible (the keys never being out of my custody and the door having two several locks), I cannot well imagine." He hoped that Carleton would not suspect him of "so base a thought" and much less of "so vile an act". As he "hoped to be saved," he would take his "corporall oathe that not one piece of them, since they were in" his "discharge, suffered either loss or hurt".

Rubens must have had no difficulty in housing a large collection of statuary; for he had lately built, from his own designs, a palatial home, with a rotunda modelled after the Pantheon at Rome, and consequently lighted from above; where he placed his artistic treasures. When his house was finished, it was discovered that he had unwittingly encroached upon a piece of ground belonging to the Arquebusiers of Antwerp (Waagen's "Rubens," p. 22). As compensation, he painted a picture for them, no less a work than the "Descent from the Cross." At first, the Arquebusiers were disappointed with the picture, the present value of which would doubtless purchase a large landed estate, instead of the mere fragment of ground upon which Rubens had unintentionally encroached.

Rubens might well say that he was "fond of antiques." As a matter of fact, he was a great student of Greek statuary: hence his desire to possess

Carleton's collection. In a MS. in Latin, he wrote ("Rubens" by Dr. Waagen, p. 124): "To reach the highest degree of perfection as a painter, it is necessary not only to be acquainted with the ancient statues, but we must be inwardly imbued with the thorough comprehension of them." Presently, however, he gives the following warning. "In studying even the best antique statues, the painter must consider and avoid many things which are not connected with the art of the sculptor, but solely with the material in which he worked." These he describes at considerable length. Later he says: "How great is the contrast between the petty spirit which chains us to the world and its cares, and that sublime, almost instinctive insight into the very life and soul of nature which the ancients possessed. . . . I can never attain to their eminence, even in mere conception." Dr. Waagen says that Rubens "caused drawings to be made of the most valuable antique monuments in Rome and Lombardy" (page 128).

Smoothly as transactions about works of art proceeded between Rubens and Carleton by direct correspondence, it was another affair when they employed agents. In the matter of one picture, Toby Matthew found that Rubens was "unreasonable," and that his demands were "like the laws of the Medes and Persians which may not be altered." Another intermediary, a certain W. Trumbull, wrote to Carleton: "I endeavoured to get Rubens to rebate somewhat of his exorbitant price." In a letter to Trumbull, Rubens

showed some annoyance; but then said: "The obligations that I am under to my Lord Ambassador will make me contented with whatever recompense His Excellency may think it good and just to award me, without any comment on my part. I do not know what more to say nor how to submit myself more entirely to the good pleasure of this gentleman, whom I esteem more than anybody would believe."

On 15 November, 1620, Toby Matthew wrote to Carleton: "As soon as I found by Rubens that the hunting piece was ended, I came to serve your Lordship"—i.e. about a picture by Bassano which Rubens was restoring. "The Creation is so entirely spoiled that for my part I would not hang it up, in sight, though he would give it for nothing. . . . It daily grows worse and worse by any endeavour that he can use to restore it. . . . The hunting piece is of an excellent design. There are lions and tigers and three men on horseback, hunting and killing beasts, and being killed by them. . . . Rubens confessed in confidence that it was not all of his own doing,[1] and I have thanked him for this confession, for a man that hath but half an eye may easily discern it; but he protests that he hath touched it all over, in all parts of it. I must confess a truth to your Lordship (though I know he will be angry at it if he knows it), that it scarce doth look like a thing that is finished, and the colour of it doth little please

[1] Rubens told Toby that it was a replica of a picture which he had sold to the Duke of Bavaria for £100 sterling. The latter is now at Munich.

me, though upon the whole matter, it be a gallant piece, for the design of it is precious." Rubens valued the picture at so high a price that Toby refused to buy it for Carleton, who, however, eventually purchased it. "I would be very loth to give him for it £15," wrote Toby. "Your Lordship will have read how Van Dyke, his famous 'alliens' is gone into England. . . . I doubt he will have carried the design of this piece into England, and if he have, I durst lay hands to a pair of gloves that he will make a much better piece than this is, for half the money. . . . Dexterously govern your knowledge of it, for else this fellow will fly upon me."

The hunting-piece had apparently been ordered for Prince Charles, and when it arrived, it did not please. Lord Danvers wrote to Carleton (27 May, 1621): "Now, for Ruben; in every painter's opinion he hath sent hither a piece scarce touched by his own hand, and the postures so forced, as the Prince will not admit the picture into his gallery. I could wish, therefore, that the famous man would do something to register or redeem his reputation in his house and to stand among the many excellent works which are here, of all the best masters in Christendom; for from him we have yet only 'Judith and Holofernes,' of little credit to his great skill. It must be of the same bigness to fit this frame, and I will be well content to shoot an arrow of allowing what money he may ask in exchange, and these Lions shall be safely sent him back for tamer beasts better made."

Respecting the "Judith and Holofernes," Rubens himself was not quite satisfied at its representing him in Prince Charles's gallery; and in a letter to an agent of the Prince suggesting another purchase, he described the later picture as "greatly superior in technique to the 'Holofernes,'" which he said had been executed in his youth. In short, its subject and treatment were repugnant and its execution was stiff and hard. (See "Rubens," by Emile Michel, trans. by Eliz. Lee, Vol. I, p. 135).

The request of Lord Danvers must have been tactfully conveyed to Rubens without ruffling his temper; for he wrote to Trumbull (13 Sept., 1621): "I am quite willing that the picture painted for my Lord Ambassador Carleton be returned to me and that I should paint another hunting piece less terrible than that of the Lions, making abatement as is reasonable for the amount already paid, and the new picture to be entirely of my own hand without admixture of the work of anyone else, which I will undertake to you on the word of a gentleman. I am very sorry that there should have been any dissatisfaction on the part of Mons. Carleton, but he would never let one understand clearly, though I often entreated him to do so, whether this picture was to be an entire original or merely one touched by my own hand. I wish for an opportunity to put him in a good humour with me, although it should cost me some trouble to oblige him."

Carleton had done all he could to get a picture by

Rubens suited to the taste of Lord Danvers; but that personage was evidently not an admirer of the artist; for he wrote to Carleton (7 Dec., 1621): "After all the care you have taken to yield me satisfaction, I suspect my money will be worth more than his work, commonly wrought with a very careless hand." Of Lord Danvers, Trumbull wrote to Carleton, on 1 March, 1623: "My Lord Danvers desiring now to have his 'Creation' of Bassano again, because Rubens hath mended it very well, doth by letter command me to treat with him for his own portrait to be placed in the Prince's gallery." Rubens objected to sending his own portrait to such a great Prince as the heir to the Throne of England; but he eventually did so, and it was by this means that Windsor Castle became enriched by the splendid portrait of Rubens, of world-wide celebrity. (See "Peter Paul Rubens," by R. A. M. Stevenson, p. 72).

When the Duke of Buckingham went with Dudley Carleton and Lord Carlisle to Holland in 1625—a date several years later than the period at which we have arrived in the life of Carleton—he saw Rubens's collection of pictures, gems, and antiques, many of the latter having been received by Rubens in his great exchange from Dudley Carleton. So delighted was Buckingham with this wonderful collection, that he persuaded Rubens, although with great difficulty, to sell him the whole of it for 100,000 florins. The collection included, in addition to the antiques and the gems, thirteen paintings by Rubens. Walpole

Drawn by Rubens

From a Photograph by Braun & Co.

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says that Buckingham gave, "it is said, £10,000 for what had not cost above £1000".[1]

On one occasion Dudley Carleton, being too busy to leave The Hague, commissioned his wife to start on a picture-dealing expedition on his behalf. It is not every wife that could be safely entrusted to spend between two and three thousand pounds (which would be about the equivalent of the £600 that she actually did spend, allowing for the decrease since then in the value of money) on works of art, entirely on her own unaided judgment! In the year 1624 she went to Middelburg and Flushing in order to be present at the sale of some Italian and Spanish works of art taken out of a ship belonging to the Viceroy of Naples by a freebooter, who had seized the ship as a prize. Carleton sent her to execute commissions which he had received from the Queen of Bohemia, and the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham. She reports her progress in letters to her husband. They are very affectionate in tone, beginning "My Deere, Sweete Hart," or "My Dearest Love," and ending with "Thy true faithful Wife".

Her expedition took place not very long before the time when Buckingham went to Flanders and made the acquaintance of Rubens. From Dort she wrote to her husband, on 4 November, 1624, that she had had an "ill passage . . . it was a fearful day of lightning". She was heartily glad that she had not

[1] "Anecdotes of Painters in England," Vol. I, p. 306. By Horace Walpole.

allowed Carleton to accompany her as far as Delft; for, said she, "it was a most pitiful day, as I think ever Christian travelled in. . . . I pray send me the measure of the length of your night gown and let me hear from thee as often as is possible, for, when I am from thee, my heart is perplexed".

On 6 November, she wrote from "Middelbrow. . . . We are safely come hither, not without much danger". A certain Mr. Manmaker, to whom she appears to have been recommended, put many obstacles in her way. "He makes an impossibility of seeing the goods, which here everybody hath seen, and which I doubt not by other means to obtain. And now I have taken such a journey, I will not return like a fool, for making more haste than good speed. Everybody says Mr. Manmaker is not willing should come here many buyers. If he says true, all the world else lies that are here. . . . This three nights I have not been in bed, and have been a very sick creature, as almost every creature was that was with me. God send me a better passage to thee, and that I find thee well. And be you assured here are very rich and rare things, sufficient to make my Lord of Buckingham a wonderful sumptuous present, for those that have seen them have assured me of it; but those that have an interest in the goods suspect Manmaker and some others have a mind to engross them to themselves for a matter of nothing, as in truth it appears. . . . Here is divers cisterns of silver and four high candlesticks for torches, and very rich stuffs

embroidered and a great deal of both men and women's apparel."

She wrote again on the 9th, from Flushing. "I went to see as many of the goods as are to be seen. Here are very fine hangings of silk embroidered with silver chamblot which they call cloth of gold, and some slight cloth of silver between, the borders are of green velvet embroidered with that chamblot. They are as good as new. There is a delicate needlework carpet very curious and rich. All these I wish I had at a reasonable rate, and I would turn merchant. There is very good tapestry, but it is somewhat old; if it come at a very low rate, I will buy store for myself and my friends. Here is great store of exceeding good household stuff." "Here are store likewise of very fair pictures; but what I shall do for the getting of them for my Lord of Buckingham, God knows; for I do not. Here is no respect of persons, no such thing to be heard of, but who will give most shall have it. . . . Your books I will have a care of; they will not yet be sold a great while. . . . There are two delicate basins they say are hammered work, but I think they are cast. Turkey carpets yet seen, none but two or three dirty rotten ones. There are delicate beads of 'helitropia' (?) and very fine ones of 'lapes lasrers,'" a valiant attempt at spelling *lapis lazuli!* Here is a business-like reflection. "I am sorry the States (General) do not make my Lord of Buckingham a

present of these things. I could have chosen out a very fine one of the plate and crystals, and bedding and hanging, and agates, and the gold baskets and boxes, and tables and pictures "—and mark this!— "*it would have been thought you procured it*".

In her next letter (11 Nov.), she wrote: "Man-maker is a proud scurvy cockscomb, and his wife a fit wife for him". "I have bought nine" pictures "to-day, good and bad, but in truth none very bad, without it be one as big as half my hand. They are sold extreme dear. . . . I have some very rare pieces, one of Titians, it cost me almost £30. I have another little piece which cost me £40 odd . . . I never saw pictures sold so dear in my life, especially trash. I wish all ours were sold as well. It would pay our debts."

On the 18 December, Carleton wrote to Burlamacchi, the great financier of those times in London: "This serves only to let you understand that having good commission to buy certain pictures and other things of those which were lately sold at Middleburg and Flushing, out of the prize taken from the Viceroy of Naples, for the Queen of Bohemia, and my Lord Duke and Duchess of Buckingham, about which my wife made a journey into Zealand expressly, she there laid out in Dutch money to the value of £627 sterling." The rest of the letter is about the arrangements for this money, with a promise to let Burlamacchi know by which ship the pictures and other things purchased for the Duke and Duchess by

Lady Carleton would arrive. Dudley Carleton's nephew wrote from London that Buckingham, "the most earnest lover of painting in the world," was much pleased with his pictures purchased by Lady Carleton.

Lord Arundel[1] thanked Dudley Carleton (17 Sept., 1619) for a present of "a very fine Bason of Stone with an Ewer alla Anticha," as well as for endeavouring to satisfy his "foolish curiosity in inquiring for the pieces of Holbein." On 20 July, 1621, he wrote to Carleton: "I have received with your kind letter a fair picture of Æneas flying out of Troy" (it was the work of Gerard Honthorst), "in which I assure your Lordship I think the painter hath expressed the story with much art, and, both for the postures and the colouring I have seen few Dutchmen arrive unto it; for it hath more of the Italian than the Flemish, and much of the manner of Caravaggio's colouring, which is now so much esteemed in Rome; so as it hath no fault but that it is too good a present for me; but since your Lordship thinks it not so, I do receive it with many thanks, and will esteem it amongst the many arguments of your love and kindness." This was written in the year when Lord Arundel was made Earl Marshal; and, as he was in high favour with the King, Dudley Carleton may have been wise in

[1] This would be the son of the attainted Earl of Arundel who died in the Tower. King James restored to him his father's titles and honours, and, in 1620, made him Earl Marshal.

showing him love and kindness and making him a present.[1]

On an earlier occasion, however, it would appear that Dudley Carleton had intended to dispose of some works of art to Lord Arundel for other purposes than love and kindness; for Edward Sherburn, the Secretary to the East India Company, who acted as a sort of agent for Carleton, wrote to him (13 July, 1616): "I omitted in my last to let your Lordship know that Lord Rosse[2] hath spoiled the sale of your Statues, because after all his pains and charges bestowed in collecting and gathering together such antiquities of this kind as he could get in his travels, he hath now in an humour (and I may say an ill one) given them all to my Lord of Arundell." Chamberlain also wrote to Carleton that "the Lord Roos . . . gave the Earl of Arundell all the Statues he brought out of Italie in one clap."

[1] Lord Arundel was a great collector also of cameos, intaglios, and medals. His collection of engraved gems passed into the possession of the Dukes of Marlborough. The writer went to see this collection sold at Christie's, in 1875, and he will never forget the look of disappointment on the faces of a large number of dealers who had come from different parts of Europe to attend the sale, when the announcement was quietly made by the auctioneer that they had been sold in one lot for 30,000 guineas. Twenty-four years later the collection was broken up, when it realized £34,827 7s. 6d.

[2] He had sailed to the south of Europe "in a very good and fayre ship of the Kinge's called the Dreadnought." Chamberlain to Carleton, 12 Oct., 1616.

Possibly Arundel may also have been deprived of them "in one clap," a few months afterwards: for[1] "On ye 2 January 1616-17, ye Earle of Arundel's house at Greenwich was burned, and some rich moveables in it; though not to ye valew as is commonly reported, which ye papists say did happen because he received ye communion on Christmas day last" (for the first time in the Anglican Church), "which he much protested he did in detestation of Pope and all Poperie.—London, 14 Jan. 1617." Lord Arundel had previously been a Catholic.

Sherburne wrote to Carleton, on 23 August, 1617, that Inigo Jones had been anxiously inquiring for some long expected pictures which Carleton seems to have been commissioned to get for Lord Arundel and the Earl of Pembroke, adding: "I would be glad to have direction from your Lordship what to say, in excuse, for I fear by Mr. Jones his speeches to me, their Lordships are not well pleased to be so long out of their monies and commodities." About a couple of months later, the pictures were duly delivered; Lord Pembroke and Lord Arundel did "very well approve of them, and have divided them to their contentment."

In 1618, Carleton again wished Rubens to help him in purchasing tapestries. On 20 May, 1618, Rubens wrote to Carleton: "the choice in all this is a matter of taste. I will send you the measurements of my cartoons for the *History of Decius Mus*, the

[1] See Sainsbury's "Original Papers Relating to Rubens," p. 279.

Roman Consul who sacrificed himself for the triumph of the Roman people; I will procure them correctly from Brussels. They are all in the hands of the tapestry-workers." Their total area was no less than 861 square feet (Michel, Vol. I, pp. 220-1).

Dudley Carleton rendered a great service to Rubens in the matter of his engravings. There is some question as to Rubens having been an engraver himself; but he employed several engravers to make copies of his drawings. Piracies of engravings were then very common, and Rubens may justly be regarded as the first to insist on a recognition of the copyright of artistic property (Michel, Vol. I, p. 27).

Rubens tried to obtain formal grants of privileges for the exclusive copyright of his works in all countries in which they were likely to have a sale. In the United Provinces of Holland there was a great taste for fine engravings, but the relations between Holland and Flanders were strained. Rubens applied to the States General for protection against any copying of his engravings, executed in Flanders, by engravers in Holland. After long and tedious negotiations, his application was refused. He then (in 1619) had recourse to Dudley Carleton, through whose intervention the States General (in 1620) passed a special Act prohibiting any copying of Rubens's works in Holland for seven years. As a mark of gratitude, Rubens dedicated to Carleton the engraving which he had had made of "The Descent from the Cross."

CHAPTER VI.

We have conducted Dudley Carleton through diplomacy to paint; we will now remove Rubens from paint to diplomacy.

Philip II of Spain had made the Netherlands into a Sovereign State, ruled jointly by the Archduke, and formerly Cardinal, Albert (a son of the Emperor Maximilian II), and his Archduchess, Philip's daughter, Isabel, Infanta of Spain. The Duke of Mantua, also the son of an Emperor, visited his Archducal relations in the Netherlands in 1599. He is known to have been in Antwerp in that year; but how, when, or where, he made the acquaintance of Rubens is doubtful. Apparently in his suite, Rubens went to Italy in 1600. The Duke of Mantua, a man fond of literature and art, took a fancy both to the pictures and to the person of Rubens, whom he appointed a gentleman of his Chamber and his Court Painter. Recommendation from the Archduke Albert may have had some influence on this appointment.

In the year 1536, the Emperor had decided the disputed succession of Monferrato in favour of the Gonzagas and not of the Dukes of Savoy. We have already recalled the later dispute between Mantua and Savoy about Monferrato, when dealing with Dudley

Carleton. The Duke of Mantua was essentially Imperial and Spanish in his sympathies; consequently Rubens, who had been brought up under the same influences in the Netherlands, fell under them again at the Court of Mantua.

The father of Rubens came from a family of burgesses and tanners, and according to some authorities was at one time a druggist—this may have meant an apothecary, or a doctor who made up his own medicines—he spent seven years in Italy, took his degree of Doctor of Laws, and thenceforth devoted his life to law and literature. Brought up a Catholic, John Rubens became a zealous Reformer and Calvinist. During the wars of religion, he escaped to Cologne, where he became legal adviser to Anne of Saxony, the wife of William the Silent, Prince of Orange. He is also said to have been, for a time, the intimate counsellor of William himself; but, when it was discovered that his relations to the Princess were not exclusively of a legal kind, he was imprisoned for two years. When William divorced Anne and married again, John Rubens was released from prison but interned for five years within the limits of the small town of Siegen. There Peter Paul was born, and a year afterwards his father obtained leave to return to Cologne, where he died nine years later, having, it is said, become a Catholic again. Peter Paul, in his early boyhood, is likely to have heard a good deal about Princes and politics from his father.

The mother of Rubens (*née* Maria Pypelincz) took

Drawn by Rubens

From a Photograph by Hanfstaengl

RUBENS AND HIS FIRST WIFE

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him to Antwerp, where the boy became an excellent linguist, being proficient in Latin, French, Spanish, German, Italian, English, and Dutch. During a part of his youth, he was a page in the household of the Princess Margaret de Ligne-Aremberg, with the advantage of being initiated into the etiquette of Courts. One of his early companions was Balthazar Moretus, a grandson of Christopher Plantin and later head of the famous printing-house of Plantin. Rubens had many literary friends, and his own elder brother was a man of letters of no mean celebrity.

As we are now considering only such matters as tended to introduce Rubens and make him welcome in Courts and political life, nothing need be said here of his well-known education as a painter; although his proficiency in art did much to make him intimate with princes and diplomacy.

Personally, also, Rubens had many attractions. Well proportioned and handsome, with glossy brown hair and a golden tinge in his moustache and beard, fine eyes and a good complexion, he was graceful, dignified, and courteous. His voice was agreeable in tone, and he exhibited considerable powers of conversation in its use. He had the saving gift of humour; he was ready in repartee; and, perhaps best of all, he was possessed of self-command and self-restraint.

The Duke of Mantua sent him to Rome to make copies for him of some of the works of Raphael; and there he was also commissioned by the Archduke Albert of the Spanish Netherlands to paint several

pictures for the church of Santa Croce, which had been the Archduke's titular church when a Cardinal.

The first quasi-diplomatic mission entrusted to Rubens was to convey, with many expressions of devotion, a present of pictures and a state carriage with six fine horses, from the Duke of Mantua to Philip III, King of Spain. He was well received at Madrid, where he painted portraits of the King and several members of the Court.

In 1608, Rubens heard of the serious illness of his mother. He hurried to Antwerp, but arrived there too late. Overwhelmed with grief, he then shut himself up, with nothing but his books and his art. The following year he intended to return to the Court at Mantua ; but his own sovereign, the Archduke Albert, insisted upon appointing him his Court Painter and Chamberlain. A couple of months afterwards (in October 1609) Rubens married and he began to build the palatial home already noticed.

Descriptions of his manner of spending his day, at Antwerp, prove him to have been what in those times was termed "a man of parts," as well as a man of paint. He got up early—in summer at four—and, as soon as he was dressed, he went to church and heard mass. Then he began to paint, and, while at work, he employed someone to read to him from Livy, Plutarch, Seneca, Cicero, or one of the classical poets. As the morning went on, he would receive visitors in his studio, and was ready to enter into animated conversation with them on a large variety of subjects.

Before his dinner, an early meal in those days, he took an hour's recreation, or rather he diverted his mind from painting to the study and contemplation of subjects connected with politics and science. At dinner he ate sparingly and drank but little wine. After a short rest, he again painted—artists have to make the most of daylight—and, when the evening began to lower, he rode for an hour or two. Riding was his favourite exercise, and horses were his chief recreation. At supper he generally received a few friends, principally men of letters, politics, science, or art.

A good many years of steady artistic work followed, including those in which the transactions, already recorded, took place between Rubens and Carleton. Three or four years later an event occurred which had some influence on the career of Rubens. In 1621 died his patron and sovereign, the Archduke Albert.

Shortly before his death, the Archduke is said to have urged his wife, when in any difficulty, to consult and follow the advice of Rubens, whom he considered an upright, wise, and clear-headed man. The Archduchess, Isabella,[1] sovereign of the Spanish Nether-

[1] Before the death of Queen Elizabeth, Isabella had been one of the possible claimants to the throne of England. She was the eldest daughter of Philip II of Spain. "She was descended from a daughter of William the Conqueror, from a daughter of Henry II, and from a daughter of Henry III. . . . Her ancestor, Louis VIII of France, had been chosen to the throne of England," and it was argued "that his descendants had a right to occupy the throne in preference to the descendants of John."

lands after the death of the Archduke, acted upon her husband's suggestion, took Rubens into her confidence, sought his council, and made use of him on diplomatic missions.

As will be seen later, the two chief objects to which the Archduchess put any diplomatic powers possessed by Rubens, were the return of the United Provinces to the Spanish allegiance, and goodwill between Spain and England. Naturally she wished well to her native country, and it would have been much for the welfare of Spain to have England for an ally ; but she was probably even more influenced by something nearer home. With France on the one side and the United Provinces on the other, she had quite enough to do without having English ships threatening her coast, her harbours, and her fleets, both naval and commercial.

The efforts of Rubens to influence the Dutch were total failures, and we may dismiss them as such. On the other hand, his attempts to keep peace between England and Spain were eventually more successful, and are intimately connected with the story of Dudley Carleton. Carleton was strongly anti-Spanish, while Rubens was as strongly pro-Spanish, and he was practically a Spaniard. We shall find Carleton striving for peace between England and France, and Rubens for peace between England and Spain. Thus, although personal friends, they may be said to have been in opposite camps, each endeavouring to counteract the policy of the other ; not the less shall we

find them achieving a result which was not altogether displeasing to either of them. For some time, however, so far as our story is concerned, every inclination shown by the King of England or his Government towards Spain, seemed to be a point gained in favour of Rubens; every inclination towards France, a point in favour of Dudley Carleton.

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING now explained how Rubens came to be employed in politics, as well as in the production of pictures, we will take leave of him for a time and return to Dudley Carleton.

For some pages to come, the text may appear to have deserted Carleton and Rubens for historical incidents already familiar to every educated reader. It may be so; but the writer does as he would be done by. When he takes up a book that assumes a thorough knowledge in every reader of the history of the times with which it deals, he frequently finds that at least one reader has either forgotten, or never studied, the history of the period in question, and would gladly welcome a few details respecting it.

What is immediately to follow is material to the subsequent actions of both Rubens and Carleton; and the matter itself will be taken to a very large extent from letters written by, or to, Dudley Carleton. Full extracts from those letters had been prepared for use; but it was found that they would have prolonged this volume to an undue length.

We have now arrived at a point in our story when European politics were passing through one of those ominous periods of sulky peace which not

uncommonly precede the outbreak of a great war. The Empire was becoming almost a fiction; the sun of Spain's glory was beginning to set, and England was on the eve of dire domestic troubles. France was by no means generally regarded as a rising nation, yet it was about to attain eminence under the guidance of Richelieu, who was to succeed in supplanting the House of Austria by the House of Bourbon, as the first power in Europe. At the same time, Denmark under Christian IV, and much more Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus, were beginning to exercise an important influence in the affairs of Europe.

The chief cause of danger was the restless condition of what is now Germany, resulting from the rivalry between the various races and districts in the then only nominally homogeneous Empire, and the increasing absence of any union of objects and interests among those districts and those races. In the sixteenth century the fear lest the Turks should sweep over Central Europe had consolidated Hungary and Bohemia, under the Emperor, in a barrier against their invasion, and had kept the other Imperial States at their backs in readiness to support them, if necessary. But when the peace of Sitva Torok, in 1606, relieved them of their fears of the Turks in the East, several of the Imperial States began to turn their eyes to the West; the countries unwillingly grouped together under the name of the Empire looked angrily at each other, and as angrily, if not more angrily, at

the Emperor himself, to whom they were supposed to owe a certain—perhaps uncertain would be a more accurate word—amount of loyalty and obedience. The fact that some of the great nobles and their peoples were Catholics, and some Protestants, and that the Protestants were subdivided into Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, and other sects, was a further source of smouldering discord.

During the first three years spent by Dudley Carleton at The Hague, there was a general feeling that before long there would be a great war.

Such as have shed tears in the schoolroom over exasperating questions, so easy to ask and so difficult to answer, about the causes, the conduct, and the results of the Thirty Years' War, will certainly have no desire to face again that complicated subject in these unpretentious pages; but, for the benefit of those whose memories have been dimmed by time, something must be said. Perhaps the best refresher may be a quotation from that most concise of all European histories, Freeman's "General Sketch."

He says that the Thirty Years' War "began in Bohemia, where the intolerance of the king, the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, provoked a revolt. In 1619, just about the time that Ferdinand was crowned Emperor[1] he was deposed in Bohemia, and the Elector Palatine Frederic, a Protestant Prince" (the husband of the English Princess Elizabeth), "was

[1] Strictly speaking, this is a slip of the pen. He was crowned King, but not crowned Emperor.

elected in his place. . . . The next year Frederic was driven out of Bohemia, and he presently lost his own dominions—the Palatinate—as well. Meanwhile, at the other end of Ferdinand's dominions, the Protestants of Hungary revolted, and for a while turned him out of that kingdom also. But the great scene of the war was Germany, where it was first of all carried on between the Catholic and the Protestant princes within the country; but gradually, as the Emperor, with his famous generals Tilly and Wallenstein, seemed likely to swallow up all Germany, other powers began to step in. The first was Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, who was himself a Prince of the Empire for his German dominions. In 1625 he became chief of the Protestant League, but he was soon driven out and obliged to make peace."

So far as Dudley Carleton was concerned, the most important question was what line his king would take as to the war. Immediately before its declaration James had been contemplating a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain. Spain was siding with the Emperor and the Catholics in the approaching conflict. On the other hand, James considered himself the leader of the Protestant Princes of Europe; his son-in-law, Frederic, Prince Palatine, was the head of the Calvinists, and there was a very strong feeling in England that James ought to send troops to the Continent in aid of the Protestant cause. The Dutch, also, were urging him to do so. But if

James followed this advice there would be an end to his desired Spanish match.

Philip, as well as James, was hampered in his proceedings by things done in the name of religion. The predecessors of both kings had taken severe measures to keep their spiritual sheep from straying from their respective and opposite folds; they had tortured and massacred the wanderers, and they had enacted very oppressive laws against all their subjects who differed ever so slightly from them about religion. James and Philip would have found it difficult to repeal those laws, and each was a firm adherent to his own Faith; but there can be little doubt that both of them would have been glad to be able to arrange things temporal, untrammelled by things eternal. They were, however, less capable of escaping from their ecclesiastical fetters, because they were less powerful monarchs than had been their respective forerunners. Spain's severity against heretics was not approved either by the other Catholic principalities or even by Rome itself. She was still considered a great power; but, in reality, while living on a reputation of the past, she was labouring under the deficiencies of the present. As to James, he was probably the weakest, as Elizabeth was the strongest, sovereign, that ever sat upon the English throne.

After alternately blustering and hesitating, asking advice and not taking it, saying that he would do one thing and then doing another, James ended by leaving to their fate his son-in-law and the Protestant cause

of which he was the mighty champion. That fate, so far as the son-in-law was concerned, was sealed on 8 November, 1620, when the Imperialist army defeated the Bohemians at the celebrated battle of Prague.

On 21 November, 1620, Dudley Carleton wrote to Naunton: "The Princes of the Union do recommend the affairs of the Palatinate to His Majesty by a dispatch grounded upon this accident in Bohemia,"—this "accident" having been the aforesaid total defeat at Prague—"which they doubt will blow up the Spaniards and Imperials with much pride and fury to follow their conquests in these parts, and their designs elsewhere; which suspicion having likewise taken hold of the States, they have sent unto me two deputies, one of Guelderland, another of Holland, to desire me to write to the same effect to His Majesty, as they do now to their Ambassador, by persuading him to hasten his princely succours, according to the diligence is used in all parts by the Spaniards and Imperials for increase of their forces against the next spring. His Majesty's wisdom can best comprehend the necessity hereof; and I hope the parliament (of which God bless the proceedings) will sufficiently furnish him with means."

King James had no intention of sending "princely succours" to his son-in-law. He contented himself with fussing and fuming and saying,—"Now to recover that which is lost, I declare to you that if I cannot get it by peace, my crown and my

blood, and the blood of my son, shall not be spared for it."[1]

But the method by which this fire-eating monarch set about recovering the Palatinate was to send Buckingham's brother, Sir Edward Villiers, to his son-in-law, requiring him to renounce all claims to the crown of Bohemia, on condition that his hereditary possessions in the Palatinate should be guaranteed to him, and that the Imperial ban should be removed. Frederic signed a promise to do whatever his father-in-law might advise; but the Emperor sternly refused to surrender his claims upon the Palatinate.

We need not dwell upon the notorious alternating pomposities and vacillations of James, who became the butt of the wits and caricaturists of Europe. He might have come in for something worse than ridicule, if an infamous plot which he had made against his friends, the Dutch, had been generally known. It was nothing less than that Spain and England should unite in making war upon the United Provinces and in dividing them between themselves.[2]

When this scheme had been confided to the Archduke Albert, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands, at Brussels, he had treated the nefarious plan with scorn and derision. As a matter of fact, the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, who had first suggested it, had never intended it to be taken seriously,

[1] Birch MS., 4155, f. 109.

[2] Gondomar to Philip III, 27 June/7 July, and 22 July/1 August, 1620. Brussels MSS., Gardiner, Vol. III, pp. 359-361.

and had only proposed it to amuse James and keep him from sending troops in support of Frederic, against Spain's ally, the Emperor.

When Frederic had fled, utterly defeated, from Bohemia, and while his Princedom of the Palatinate was in dispute, Elizabeth thought of taking refuge with her father, the King of England; and her husband proposed to accompany her in order to discuss his interesting position with his sage father-in-law. Having heard a rumour of these approaching guests, the hospitable James wrote to Dudley Carleton: "So great is our mislike of such a course, if he should determine it (which God forbid) as we do here command you, in case he pass by that way with an intention to repair to this place, to address yourself unto him with all diligence, and earnestly, in our name, to divert him with good persuasions from proceeding any farther on that journey," etc.

Nor would the loving father receive even his daughter, in her affliction, alone. "If our daughter also do come into those parts," he wrote, "with any intention to transport herself hither, you do use all possible means at this time to divert her." He was well aware of her popularity and the public reception which she would receive if she came to England. That popularity, excited by her presence, might, he feared, produce an outcry for a military expedition in her own and her husband's support, which he might find it difficult to refuse or ignore.

With the approval of James, the Prince of

Orange invited the ex-King and Queen of Bohemia to The Hague, and sent nineteen troops of horse to escort them through the latter part of their journey until they embarked in the Rhine. The first people to welcome them on landing, at Rotterdam, were Sir Dudley and Lady Carleton.[1]

Dudley Carleton was captivated, at first sight, by the exiled Queen.[2] "Thinkest thou," wrote he to a friend, "there is such another in the world for discretion and all things laudable in her sex and rank?"

If this were a Life of Dudley Carleton, it would be necessary to give details of the constant troubles entailed upon him by King James. One day, James would avow his intention of sending an army to avenge his daughter's wrongs; the next, he would declare that he would restore her rights simply and peacefully by his own skilful diplomacy; and this

[1] Cauldwell to Calvert, 3 April, Holland Correspondence. Quoted by Mrs. Green in Vol. V of her "Lives of the Princesses of England."

[2] Carleton had some time earlier ingratiated himself with her by sending her a present of two monkeys—she had one already. Sir Albert Morton wrote to tell Carleton that his monkeys had put the old one out of the Queen's favour. Mrs. Ashley, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, wrote to Carleton: "Her Highness is very well, and takes great delight in those fine monkeys you sent her, which came very well, and now are grown so proud as they will come to nobody but Her Highness, who hath them in her bed every morning." The Queen herself addressed the letter: "To Sir Dudley Carleton, from the fair hands of the Right Rev. Mrs. Elizabeth Ashley, Chief Governor to all the monkeys and dogs." The Queen was only twenty-one at that time. (Green's "Princesses," V, 288).

went on alternately for months. The ex-Queen of Bohemia was consequently in high spirits at one moment and in despair at another; and Dudley Carleton was constantly occupied either in endeavouring to persuade her not to build too much upon her father's bellicose promises, or in trying to comfort her when news came that James was only attempting to regain the Palatinate for her with an olive branch as his weapon. In the hope of rendering her exile less irksome, Carleton showed her great hospitality, a hospitality which he found to be exceedingly expensive, which expense he felt all the more because his own salary had been long over-due.

Meanwhile, in England, James in his conversations with Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, was feeling his way for a match between Prince Charles and the Infanta, while Gondomar was endeavouring to engineer a quarrel between James and the United Provinces. The Treaty of Truce between Spain and those provinces had by that time run out its course.

Gondomar's attempts were somewhat furthered by the annoyance of James at hearing that his son-in-law, Frederic, had led an army, large in numbers, but consisting mainly of a predatory, undisciplined rabble, into Hesse Darmstadt. Greatly incensed, James sent a letter to Frederic—a letter, as the envoy, Lord Chichester, admitted, written "with sour ink"—sternly reproaching him for his disobedience.

Almost simultaneously, news reached King James that Heidelberg was lost, that his agent at Brussels

had completely failed to negotiate a treaty, and that the Emperor had transferred the Electorate of the Palatinate from Frederic to the Duke of Bavaria.[1] Great was the excitement in this country; Charles, Prince of Wales, fell on his knees before James, besought him to be no longer deceived by his enemies' pretence of making treaties, and begged permission to raise an army and lead it in person, with the object of avenging the wrongs of his sister.[2]

As usual, James promised everything and did nothing.

In the spring of 1823, Elizabeth was startled by the news that her brother, accompanied by Buckingham, had gone to Spain, to accomplish a marriage with the Infanta. That her father should have chosen to bring about the marriage of his heir-apparent to the Infanta of Spain at the very moment when the sworn ally of Spain had robbed her husband of his electorate, as well as of his kingdom, and when the Spanish troops had been fighting against her husband's friends, allies, and supporters, was a heavy blow and a serious insult to the ex-Queen of Bohemia.

All things now appeared to be conspiring against Carleton's policy. But there was one element in his favour. Now that Prince Charles was in the hands

[1] "Green," p. 398; Weston to Buckingham, 3 Sept., "Cabala," p. 368; Bouillon to James I, 6 Sept., "Ancient Royal Letters," Vol. VIII, Carleton's Despatch, 23 Sept.; Nethersole to Carleton, 28 Sept., 1622.

[2] Mead to Stuteville, 19 Oct., 1622. Appendix to Goodman's "Court of James I," Vol. II, p. 250.

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of the Spaniards and might possibly be exposed to danger, people began to remember not only that the Princess Elizabeth was the next in succession, but that the second was her eldest boy, so that quite possibly a son of Frederic, late Prince Palatine and King of Bohemia, might some day become King of England. More and more sympathy therefore was felt by the public in England for the exiles.

Although Carleton, at the orders of James, went "beyond the bounds of good manners" in his attempts to keep Frederic quiet, the prince slipped off from The Hague, and joined the armies of Mansfeldt and Prince Christian, just in time to be present when they received a crushing defeat from Tilly at Stadtloo, almost within sight of the borders of Holland.

It might have been a comfort to Carleton if he could have known that the wooing of the Infanta by Prince Charles was not proceeding smoothly at Madrid. Neither Charles nor Buckingham was treated there with the obsequiousness which he had expected by the great Minister, Olivarez; nor did even the English resident Minister, Lord Bristol, invariably see eye to eye with them. Instead of Charles being able to dictate terms to Spain, Spain suggested, if it did not actually dictate, terms to Charles. Thoroughly put out, and not being able to get precisely what he wanted, Charles began to think of breaking off the match. In such a state of mind, he was seized by a sudden access of zeal for the interests of his sister and his brother-in-law: he insisted that one condition

of his marriage with the Infanta should be the restoration of the Palatinate to Prince Frederic, and that King Philip should obtain this by force of arms from the Emperor, his hereditary ally, if it should be refused when demanded by word of mouth.

Olivarez had not been slow in discovering that Prince Charles was both weak and obstinate, or in resenting Buckingham's insolence. Buckingham, on his part, unhesitatingly quarrelled with this Spanish official with whom it was of the highest importance that he should be on the best of terms, and he also quarrelled with Bristol. Nothing very definite or satisfactory was guaranteed about the restoration of the Palatinate by the Court or Government of Spain; and, the one in despondency, the other in a bad temper, Charles and Buckingham left Madrid and returned to England. Practically, thus ended the projected match with Spain. Not very many months afterwards England declared war against Spain, an ignoble warfare chiefly consisting in acts of piracy on commercial shipping.

CHAPTER VIII.

In 1624 one of the Secretaryships of State was vacant, and Carleton was anxious to obtain it; or indeed any other good appointment at home. To this end he wished to propitiate Buckingham, and he had sent a consignment of fine marbles to his nephew young Dudley Carleton, in London, desiring that they should be presented to the great dispenser of patronage at an opportune moment.

The nephew wrote to him from London, on 26 September, 1624, stating that he had reminded Buckingham of the fact that Carleton was the only Ambassador who had served without reward; but that Buckingham's words in reply had been few and his manner short. The letter then inquired whether Carleton really wished that the marbles, which he had sent to England, should be given to Buckingham. They were valued at £400. Four days later he wrote that the opportunity was fitting for such a present, as the front of York House was to be rebuilt and its gate would be a very suitable position for some of them. On 24 October, Carleton replied to his nephew that he would be glad to present Buckingham with his marble gate and chimney-piece if he admired their design.

In spite of this permission, the nephew hesitated. The bribe was a large one for a man of Carleton's limited means to offer, and the commission to offer it, or not to offer it, as he might think best, placed young Dudley Carleton in a difficult and unpleasantly responsible position.

York House, suggested as a suitable home for Carleton's marbles, was a little to the East of Hungerford Market. It had been the London house of the Archbishops of York, and The Right Rev. Toby Matthew, the father of Toby Matthew frequently mentioned in these pages, had sold it to the King, who gave it to Buckingham. Buckingham had converted it into a splendid palace.

In November the nephew expressed his intention of being very wary as to executing the commission given him by his uncle to make the present of marbles to Buckingham, until he could ascertain what that all-powerful minister really meant to do, and what return his uncle would be likely to obtain, if he were to make so speculative an investment.

In the January of the following year (16 Jan., 1625), young Carleton announced that he had at last made the present of the marbles to Buckingham. He had done so because he had come to the conclusion that Buckingham really desired to be of service to Carleton, and that the marbles might considerably stimulate that excellent sentiment. At first Buckingham had hesitated to accept so valuable a present: then he had talked of sending a present to Carleton in return.

That would have defeated the entire object of the present, *i.e.* to obtain office; so the diplomatic nephew told Buckingham that he was sure his extremely sensitive uncle would be deeply offended if a present were offered to him as if in payment; at the same time he delicately hinted that there might possibly be other ways in which Buckingham would find himself in a position to gratify his wish to be of use to Carleton, without hurting his feelings.

A source of great satisfaction to Dudley Carleton, in the year 1624, was the knowledge that negotiations were in progress for a marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria of France. Such a match, he hoped, would put an end to any coquetting between England and Spain, and in all probability would result in the enlistment of French arms in the war against Spain and the Emperor, thus promoting the cause of Elizabeth and her husband in the Palatinate. The French had already promised financial support to the Dutch in their war against Spain, and they were known to be uneasy at the Emperor's apparent increase in power and influence. On nearly all her borders, France had now unfriendly neighbours, and an alliance by marriage with England seemed not unlikely to lead to an alliance in arms.

Possibly Carleton may have smiled at reading, in a letter which he received from Nethersole (7 June) that, when King Louis had deputed Richelieu and M. Vieuville to negotiate about the proposed match with the English Ambassadors, a delicate question of pre-

cedence had presented itself, which the resourceful Richelieu had solved by pretending to be ill and receiving all concerned as he lay in his bed.

As in the Spanish, so also in the French marriage negotiations, Prince Charles demanded armed support for the recovery of the Palatinate as a prior condition. Carlisle, one of the English envoys to France, wrote to Carleton that the treaty for the marriage "stopped only upon the service of the Queen of Bohemia, which I beseech your lordship to assure her Majesty is embraced and pursued with infinite devotion by her *camel*" (Elizabeth's familiar nickname for Carlisle), "who will always stoop to all her commandments and receive what burden soever she shall please to impose upon him."

The marriage treaty was duly drawn up and signed in December, 1624. One of its conditions, signed by Charles, was: "I, the undersigned Charles, Prince of Wales, . . . promise on the word of a Prince . . . to all the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown of Great Britain the utmost liberty and franchise in everything regarding their religion . . . in everything that is in my power . . . provided, however, that they use the permission" (to live as Catholics) "modestly," with a good deal more in the same strain. Another condition was that France should allow Mansfeldt to land his army at Boulogne or Calais; and, if we may judge from subsequent events, neither the King of England nor the King of France made this sacred compact with much intention of keeping it.

We have now arrived at the period when news reached Europe of the torturing and massacre of some Englishmen by the Dutch at Amboyna, one of the Spice Islands some 500 or 600 miles almost due north of the most northern point of Australia.

This affair gave Carleton infinite trouble. The report of the outrage did not reach England until about fifteen months after its occurrence. Great was the indignation which it raised in this country; but it must be confessed that it was somewhat tempered by the fact that, at that particular period, the Spaniards were in very bad odour in England, that the Dutch were the enemies of Spain, and that they were the only people likely to join the English in naval expeditions against Spanish ships and Spanish colonies; while the Dutch army, it was hoped, would be very useful against Spain and her allies on the Continent. Fortunately for the Dutch, at no time in the history of this country had they been more popular with the House of Commons or the British populace.

Probably the Englishman who felt the outrage most keenly was King James; but, in the then political position, he was fettered. It is true that he demanded compensation, that he clamoured for the punishment of the offenders, and that he threatened reprisals; but the reply of the Dutch that by and by he should be fully satisfied on all points, disarmed him, especially as he was perfectly aware that any offensive or retributive action on his part would lose him the Dutch alliance. The unhappy affair, as a matter of

fact, proved rather useful to James on one occasion, namely when he was equipping his navy for an expedition in conjunction with the Dutch against the Spaniards; for, fearing lest Spain might suspect that some such expedition was impending, he told the Infanta's agent the unblushing lie that he was preparing ships to make reprisals on the Dutch for the Amboyna outrage in the East, whereas he was in reality preparing those ships to assist the Dutch against the Spaniards in the West. But the reign of that King was then nearing its end, and, in the year 1625, Carleton received the news that James had died on 27 March.

King James's funeral, wrote Chamberlain to Carleton (14 May, 1625), was the greatest ever known in England. Suits of mourning were given to 9000 people. Inigo Jones designed the hearse, the Lord Keeper's sermon lasted two hours, and the total cost of the funeral was about £50,000. The plague had then begun in London, and it grew worse and worse during the summer. In August, Locke wrote two letters to Carleton stating that the deaths from it in London alone were from 4000 to 5000 a week.

It must have been most gratifying to Carleton, at The Hague, to receive Sir Henry Vane, who had been instantly dispatched by Charles on his accession, to assure his sister of his intentions to help her. The swinging of the pendulum had now turned in Carleton's favour.

King Charles raised levies for the war and began

to fit out a fleet. This attracted the attention of the King of Spain, who asked for an explanation of all these warlike preparations. Charles curtly replied that the Queen of Bohemia had now a king for her brother.

From Charles's professions, it now appeared that, if the King and Queen of Bohemia were not soon replaced upon their thrones, or at least reinstated in the Palatinate, it would certainly not be through any fault on his part. No attempt will be made to offer a panegyric of Charles in the remaining pages; but it is only fair to say that he never had the power to send an adequate army for the restitution of the rights of his sister and his brother-in-law. There was a time during the life of his father when the Parliament would have voted sufficient supplies for at least a reasonable effort towards such an enterprise: but during his own life, Parliament was never in a like humour. Possibly Charles never fully realized his consequent impotence; but until certain that he possessed the necessary power, he ought not to have boasted of the great things he was about to undertake for the royal exiles. Often, in the course of his life, his apparent falseness sprang from his rashness in making promises without sufficiently considering whether he had the power of fulfilling them.

Events moved quickly in 1625. The death of King James was followed in less than three weeks by that of Maurice, Prince of Orange, who was succeeded by his brother, Prince Frederic Henry. In

less than another three weeks, King Charles I was married by proxy to Henrietta Maria of France, outside the great west door of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris; and in less than six weeks later the new Queen of England landed at Dover.

Carlisle, the English Ambassador in Paris, doubted, after all that had been said and done, whether the French would eventually side with England or with Spain. Buckingham, however, confident in his own irresistible charms, hoped that, if he went to Paris in person, he could use sufficient influence, and offer enough attractive inducements, to make the French Government join with England and Holland in an attack upon Flanders, especially if he promised to hand over to them the Spanish Province of Artois in the case of victory.

As was the case when he went to Spain, Buckingham, deceived by the power of his influence in England, imagined that the attractions of his personality would be as effective in other countries. He overlooked the fact that there was another very potent personal influence in France, that of Richelieu; and he made a fatal mistake in supposing that he could carry all before him in Paris. Presenting himself at the French Court with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, he urged the Government definitely to join England in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate and in a declaration of hostilities against Spain. Louis declined to take part, openly, in a war either against the Emperor or the King of Spain. The

most he would promise was to give £100,000 towards the military expenses of the King of Denmark, to continue his share of Mansfeldt's pay for seven months longer, and to reinforce him with 2000 horse.

Buckingham was disappointed beyond words. On the one hand, he spoke bitterly to Marie de Medicis, and, on the other, he befooled himself by making violent love to the young Queen of France.

Although Buckingham did not get what he wanted in France, his visit there resulted in his making the acquaintance of Rubens. Marie de Medicis had induced Rubens to go to Paris in 1620, to adorn the palace of the Luxembourg with pictures representing various events in her life. Of one of them Waagan wrote:[1] "The marriage scene, in which a Bishop is represented as performing the ceremony before an altar, in the presence of Christ, whilst the heathen god Hymen is bearing the train of the princess, has long struck even the most unqualified admirers of Rubens as unseemly." But whether pictures of this sort are, or are not, pleasing to art critics, or, for that matter, to the Almighty, in those times they were exceedingly pleasing to the great people who paid for them and in whose honour they were painted; and this particular picture and its fellows had the effect of making Rubens a great favourite at the Court of France.

Having submitted his sketches for approval, he took them to Antwerp in order to get the greater

[1] "Rubens," p. 25.

part of the work performed by his many pupils, in what was nothing less than a picture factory; but he was in Paris again in 1625. Then he painted two of the larger pictures of the series, on the spot; Marie de Medicis showed him great favour, and told him much that was useful to this secretly diplomatic agent of the Archduchess Isabella. This was all very pleasant; but the Queen Mother was a slow and bad pay-mistress; and Rubens wrote to Pévieux (a friend of most of the artists and savants of his day and the employer of agents in many parts of the world to purchase statuary and other works of art), complaining that between the cost of his journeys, other expenses, and the long delays in obtaining payment for his work, he reckoned the whole business at Paris a loss; but that it had one redeeming feature, in his having made the acquaintance of, and painted the portrait of, the Duke of Buckingham, who had rewarded him with great generosity.

Rubens, however, obtained something more than money from Buckingham. When the great Englishman was posing in his studio, Rubens found it easy to make the conversation glide from painting to politics; and he seized the happy moment of Buckingham's ill success at the Court of France, and his consequent feelings of irritation towards the French, to divert his sympathies in the direction of Brussels and Spain. Rubens was wise enough not to press Buckingham too far, or too hurriedly, and it might, indeed, seem quite natural that he should expatiate

upon the virtues and charms of his own sovereign, incidentally assuring Buckingham of her very friendly feelings towards England. Nothing apparently followed from these conversations at the time; but they were the beginning of Buckingham's tendency towards an understanding, if not an alliance, with Spain.

On Buckingham's return to England, his mission to France was universally recognized as a deadly failure, and this increased the unpopularity which he had already incurred on account of his mismanagement of the war. He was on the eve of meeting a House of Commons which was much out of humour at seeing no fruits from the large sum which it had already voted for the recovery of the Palatinate, angry at a proclamation by the king of toleration for Catholics, and incensed against a minister who had irritated, instead of making alliances with, neighbouring countries. When Parliament met, it severely blamed Buckingham, and offered most inadequate supplies for the war.

Shortly afterwards, Buckingham went to The Hague to be present at a Congress under the auspices of Princess Elizabeth, intended to cement an alliance between England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. The magnificence of Buckingham greatly impressed the people at The Hague; but, at the very time when he was making a display of his pearls and his diamonds on his own person, he was engaged, at his master's orders, in pawning to the Jews of Amster-

dam the jewels and the plate of the English Crown, the hereditary possessions of a long line of kings.

Fully estimating the value of having France on the side of England, Dudley Carleton was particularly careful not to offend the representatives of France at The Hague, and he endeavoured, when possible, to be friendly to them. Buckingham, on the contrary, from the moment of his arrival at The Hague, made no secret of his distrust of the French. "I acknowledge the power of the King of France," said he openly, "but I doubt his good will." The Swedish Ambassador had been taken ill, and had died a few days before the arrival of Buckingham; the French Ambassador took no interest in the proceedings, and the North German Princes were silent. The King of Denmark was represented, but only for the purpose of begging.

If nothing came of the Congress, a great change for the better befell the fortunes of Dudley Carleton. Buckingham, to whom Carleton now became a *persona grata*, had him recalled to England, appointed Vice Chamberlain of His Majesty's household and a Privy Councillor. Carleton had long been anxious for a post in his own country, and his time at The Hague had been accompanied by much anxiety and worry. No doubt he was sorry to leave to her fate the Ex-Queen to whom he was so devoted; but, in leaving her, he also left a great deal of irksome responsibility and many possibilities of complications and difficulties in the near future.

Carleton was not to remain long in England after his return there, as his diplomatic services were soon required for a rather thankless task in France. The incidents which rendered that task necessary may thus be summarized. In 1624, King Louis had had a quarrel with his Huguenot subjects about La Rochelle, a port in the centre of the west coast of France; and he had appealed to England and Holland for naval assistance. Both of those countries, at that time, had been eager for an alliance with France; and Holland had sent ships readily; so also had England; but, when the English sailors found that they were expected to fight on behalf of Papists against Protestants, they mutinied, and the officers, including even the Admiral, professed their inability to control them. In fact, the Admiral even went so far as to apologize for the mutinous conduct of his men. After much fuss and many negotiations with the French, one of those compromises so dear to our nation was finally arranged, on the terms that the English sailors were not to fight against the Huguenots unless they specially volunteered to do so, but that the ships were to be temporarily placed in the hands of the French for their use in the proposed expedition. The French got the ships; but only one English sailor volunteered.

Although so lately married to a Catholic wife, and having so recently signed a guarantee of toleration and freedom to Catholics in England, Charles had found it prudent, during the summer of 1625, to figure before his Parliament as the Champion of Pro-

testantism, and he began to put into execution the excessively drastic penal laws against his Catholic subjects. This action on his part, while it distressed his Queen and her suite, irritated the French Ambassador and King Louis. France reproached England for bad faith in breaking an important promise in the treaty of marriage by persecuting the English Catholics ; and England reproached France for persecuting the French Protestants. Matters were made no better by the annoyance of Louis at Buckingham having made love to his Queen, when he was last in Paris ; and, when Charles talked of sending Buckingham to negotiate about these disputed matters at the Court of France, Louis flatly refused to admit the man into his kingdom. Buckingham was already out of humour with France, on account of the refusal of the French Ambassador, at The Hague Congress, to join in an alliance with England, Holland, and Denmark, and he was exasperated at Louis' refusal to receive him in person. As if to make the complication more complete, and to render the difficulties the greater, Charles selected this most inopportune moment for announcing that he was going to substitute Protestant Maids-of-Honour for the Catholic Maids-of-Honour brought by Henrietta Maria from France. And as though one thing were even yet wanting, several French merchant ships, charged with carrying goods for the use of the Spanish Netherlands, were brought to Plymouth as Prizes. A French ship, named St. Peter, containing £40,000 worth of cash and jewels,

was seized by Buckingham's authority, on the mere chance of the Spaniards having some interest in her lading.

The English Parliament expressed such extreme irritation at British ships having been lent to a Catholic power for the purpose of attacking Protestants, as to frighten Charles into demanding the immediate return of those ships and requiring the King of France to make peace with the Huguenots. In doing this he was ostentatiously supported by Buckingham, who was becoming alarmed at the popular rumours of his having been the guilty party in sending Protestant ships to help the Godless Papists in a war against the God-fearing Huguenots.

If Buckingham was thus disturbed in his mind, neither was Richelieu quite comfortable. He thought that, if encouraged by England, the Huguenots should attempt a general rising, there might be a possibility of English ships supporting it by attacking French harbours and ports; nor was there any certainty that England's allies, Holland and Denmark, might not take a hand in the game. Therefore he wrote to Buckingham suggesting that confidential Ambassadors should be sent from England to the Court of France to try to smooth the troubled waters.

For the real business of this Embassy, Buckingham very wisely selected Dudley Carleton, whom Gardiner describes as "a diligent, well-informed man, too dependent upon office to be likely to take a course of his own, and sympathising with the move-

ment against Spain without rising into any large view of contemporary politics."

Carleton met with an excellent reception in Paris. He had now to deal with Richelieu, the cleverest diplomatist in Europe, a diplomatist the more dangerous because the extent of his skill and his power were not then fully realised or appreciated. Both Richelieu and Dudley Carleton were hampered and worried by the interference and want of tact of their respective sovereigns. Possibly this may have created a fellow feeling between the two diplomats and led each to sympathize with the embarrassments of the other; and thanks are due to both that war did not break out in the course of their negotiations between the countries which they severally represented.

When Dudley Carleton returned to England, at the end of March, 1626, he found the Parliament in a state of extreme indignation against Buckingham; and, for that very reason, in very strained relations towards King Charles. If Carleton had frequently disapproved of the policy of his employers, he had always acted upon it most loyally; and, as both Charles and Buckingham felt that they could thoroughly trust him, they were anxious to get him again into the House of Commons. He was accordingly put up for the borough of Hastings, then vacant, and Forster describes him[1] as "the new Vice-Chamberlain and member for Hastings, Dudley Carleton, an ancient

[1] "Sir John Eliot, A Biography," by John Forster. Longmans, 1864, Vol. I, p. 478.

diplomatist "—he was fifty-two—"of amazing experience in foreign countries, with the drawback of having had little experience in his own."

The position of affairs in the English Parliament at that moment is but too well known. Charles had violated the privileges of the House of Lords by commanding the Earl of Bristol, untried and almost unaccused, to consider himself a prisoner in his house at Sherborne, and by imprisoning, first in the Tower and then in his home, the Earl of Arundel (the celebrated collector of works of art) for his supposed connivance at his son's clandestine marriage, in this case also without trial and on a flimsy pretext. When Bristol received the customary writ summoning him to attend the House of Lords, accompanied by a letter from the Lord Keeper informing him that the King did not wish him to act upon it, he quietly broke his arrest, went to London, and, to the astonishment of everybody, and to the horror of the King and Buckingham, he leisurely strolled into the House of Lords, and took his seat as if nothing had happened. There, he cynically observed that, as the writ was under the King's Great Seal, and as the letter containing the prohibition to act on it was not, he had felt it to be his duty to obey the writ rather than the letter. In the then temper of both Lords and Commons, it would have been very dangerous for Charles to have ordered him back to arrest at Sherborne. The King's only alternative was to accuse him of high treason, and this he did, although he had already

emphatically declared that, while in Spain, Bristol had not committed any offence whatever, but had only been guilty of an error of judgment. No sooner had Bristol been accused of high treason than in his turn he accused Buckingham of a similar offence.

The speech of Sir John Eliot at the impeachment of Buckingham, the imprisonment of Eliot and Dudley Digges, and Carleton's defence of the conduct of the King in the affair, are such familiar matters of English History as to require nothing more than mention here; but Carleton's speech was such an important incident in his career that it ought not to be dismissed quite so summarily.

Amid cries of "Sit down! Sit down!" from all directions—for it should be remembered that the opposition came not from one side of the House, as it would at present, but from every side, and that, if the peers were present, most of them sympathized with the Commons—Dudley Carleton stood up to defend the action of the King in arresting the two members. Eliot, he said, had hinted, though he had not dared to say it in so many words, that Buckingham had contrived the murder of the late King, and Digges had even gone so far as to hint that King Charles had been guilty of patricide; for, after mentioning some strong suspicions respecting a plaster which had been applied to King James in his last illness, Digges had said: "I will therein spare the honour of the King,"[1] the

[1] Forster's "Sir J. Eliot," Vol. I, 555, 1625-6.

meaning of which remark was unmistakeable. Surely, said Carleton, the House had not authorized such charges as these! The two members had been arrested for exceeding the directions of the House.

He then used these remarkably significant words :—

"I beseech you, gentlemen, move not his Majesty with trenching upon his prerogatives, lest you bring him out of love with parliaments. In his messages he hath told you, that if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be enforced to use new counsels. Now I pray you to consider what those new counsels are, and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian Kingdoms you know that parliaments were in use anciently, until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and, seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, *and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us.* And indeed you would count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries as well as myself; to see them look not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts and not men, being nothing but skin and bones with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet; so that they cannot eat meat, or wear good clothes, but they must pay and be taxed to the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which YET we are free from."

Forster says: "The travelled and experienced Sir Dudley had scarcely thus delivered himself, when his ears were saluted with loud and unaccustomed shouts of 'To the bar! To the bar!' and he very narrowly escaped the necessity of apologizing at the bar on his knees. But the revelation he had made was long remembered; and when men ceased to laugh at the skin and bones, and the wooden shoes, they called to mind that England was the only one of three great Kingdoms which had not yielded to the sword," and "was the last monarchy which had retained her liberties".

What followed is well known. The Commons voted a Remonstrance to the King against the presence of Buckingham. "We protest," they said, "before your Majesty and the whole world, that until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of State, we are out of hope of any good success." The reply of King Charles was to dissolve the Parliament.

Before that dissolution, which took place on 15 June, Dudley Carleton had been created Baron Carleton[1] of Imbercourt, county Surrey. When Eliot heard of this, he said, in the House, that Carleton "had not so much as a place to be made a Lord of".[2]

[1] 21 May, 1626.

[2] Forster's "Eliot," Vol. I, p. 571.

Photograph by Emery Walker Ltd.

SIR JOHN ELIOT

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER IX.

THE new peer was not to wait long before the King who had ennobled him required his services in payment for that honour. Charles found a false excuse for sending him to Paris, but his real reasons for doing so were his determination to perform an action which he knew would raise a storm at the Court of France, and his conviction of the necessity of having a representative there on whom he could thoroughly depend to say the little which it would be possible to say in his defence as tactfully and pleasantly as it could be said.

The fact was that after quarrelling with his Parliament in June Charles had been quarrelling with his wife in July. For some time things had not gone smoothly between them. On one occasion after a dispute about the all-important question whether it was raining—the Queen saying that it was raining and the King saying that it was not—Charles had sulked and had not spoken to Henrietta Maria for three days.[1] He had at last made up his mind to get rid of all her suite, noble and official, civil and military, lay and clerical. On the last day of the month, the King took the Queen into her private appartments, locked

[1] "Memoires de Tilliers," quoted by Gardiner, VI, 56.

the door upon her French attendants, and gave orders that they were to be dismissed at once.[1]

In a letter to Mead, John Pory (an ex-M.P., at one time Secretary to the Colony of Virginia, and latterly a man about the Court) wrote, on 5 July, 1626: "Now it is thought that my Lord Carleton, who went for France on Monday sevenight, went to give the first advertisment thereof"—i.e. of the expulsion of the Queen's suite, upon which the King had secretly determined—"although it were given out he went to treat of a peace with Gondomar".

Charles was very angry when the French attendants, although turned out of the Court, still lingered in London. On 7 August he wrote to Buckingham:[2] "I command you to send all the French out of the town. If you can, by fair means (but stick not long in disputing); otherways force them away, drive them like so many wild beasts until you have shipped them, and so the Devil go with them. Let me hear no answer but the performance of my command."

And go they did: a Bishop, several priests,[3] maids-

[1] In "Ellis' Letters," Vol. III, p. 238, there is a long letter from John Pory to Mead about this affair. It is also dealt with in "Private Instructions to Carleton". Also in a letter from Conway to Carleton, 9 Aug., 1626, S.P. France. See also Gardiner, VI, 136-7.

[2] Ellis, III, p. 244.

[3] The Articles of Marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria, signed by James I, and by the English Ambassadors in Paris, Article VIII, provided "that the said lady shall have twenty-eight priests or ecclesiastical persons in her house"—an extraordinary number! Nor was their zeal invariably according to

of-honour, gentlemen ushers, grooms of the Privy Chamber, doctors, pages, cup-bearers and a host of servants of various kinds.

The difficulties of Dudley Carleton were considerably increased, from a diplomatic point of view, by incidents connected with the French Bishop, incidents mentioned by Pory in his letters to Mead. The Bishop it would appear had heard that King Louis was going to appoint him as French Ambassador in the place of the recalled Blainville; for Pory wrote (5 July): "The Bishop stood much upon it that, being in the nature of an Ambassador, he could not go unless the King, his master, should command him; but he was told, again, that the King, his master, had nothing to do here in England, and that if he were unwilling to go, England would find force enough to make him".

When the Bishop was on his way to Dover, wrote Pory (on 1 August), "being come to Rochester they met there with his commission from the French King to ordain him Ambassador, notice whereof he presently sent his Majesty" (King Charles); "but the King utterly rejected him, saying he had done him so many wrongs, as he should never see his face more". This was almost sufficient insult to Louis XIII to bring about a cessation of diplomatic relations;

knowledge ("Somers Tracts, IV, 88). Article VII provided that she should always have a Bishop for her grand Almoner (*ibid.* 87). These and several others of the Articles were broken by Charles, when he dismissed her attendants.

and what sort of treatment could Carleton, the Ambassador of the King of England, expect from the King of France, when the Ambassador of the King of France had been treated in such a manner by the King of England?

Carleton wrote to Conway informing him that he had made the best he could of the unfortunate affair at the Court of France. His reception there had been very different from that which he had met with on the previous occasion. Bassompierre says ("Memoirs," translation, p. 5) that he "was very ill received". When Carleton had told his story to the French King, he received a very sharp reply. Louis said that his sister had been abominably treated by Carleton's King, who had broken the treaty and his solemn promise. An attempt by Carleton to smooth matters over was peremptorily checked by Louis, who said that he absolutely refused to discuss the disgraceful incident. He did not wish to hear another word on the subject from Lord Carleton.

The position was made the more galling to Carleton by his knowledge that the highly strained personal relations between Louis and Charles were ruining Elizabeth's hope of being restored to the Palatinate, as the attainment of that object was impossible without the active support of France with either men or money, or even both. As if to put a final end to the last vestige of that hope, news had come to France, within a month of Carleton's arrival in Paris, that the King of Denmark had been totally

defeated by Tilly, and that the North of Germany lay open to the armies of the Emperor. Charles did not leave Carleton long at the French Court, where it was evidently impossible that he could be of any further use in the then temper of King Louis.

While Charles was employing Carleton in an endeavour to pacify the King of France, Rubens was being employed by the Archduchess in an attempt to incline the King of Spain towards a peace with Charles. Very soon, however, both the artist and the diplomat had a more personal trouble to occupy their minds, as they lost their respective wives within a short space of time. The wife of Rubens died at about the time when Carleton was in Paris, and Lady Carleton survived her but a few months, dying on 18 April, 1627. She has figured little in these pages; but we have seen that her letters to her husband were written in very affectionate terms, that she spared no trouble for his interests, and that he employed her on expeditions of trust, difficulty, and discomfort. In the State Paper Office there are many letters written to her by her husband's friends. John Chamberlain, especially, was one of her frequent correspondents. At The Hague she was exceedingly kind to the ex-Queen of Bohemia, who became much attached to her. On one occasion, however, she made a rather unfair use of Elizabeth by persuading her to take one of her own nieces into her suite. Lady Carleton wrote to her husband (8 June, 1623): "As for Bess,

I much fear the Queen will not have her, and on my conscience she is no way fit for her, for she will never come in no fashion, no not tolerable. I am ashamed to carry her abroad with me." Yet she wished her husband to induce Elizabeth to accept this admittedly objectionable girl. "I wish you could so prevail with her," she continued, "for what I shall do with her I know not. She has been in physic almost ever since I came over. She was far gone in the scurvy, which none but idle folks have." A subsequent letter from Carleton to Chamberlain shows that eventually the kind-hearted Elizabeth actually took this interesting creature into her household.

Probably the greatest sorrow of Lady Carleton was caused by the loss of her only child, a boy, who died young. Lady Carleton was buried in St. Paul's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Neither of the widowers was allowed a lengthy period of idleness to give way to his sorrows. When Dudley Carleton had left his Embassy at The Hague, in 1625, his place had been taken by his nephew, Sir Dudley Carleton the younger. The new Ambassador had done very fairly there, so long as things had gone smoothly; but, early in the year 1627, very shortly after the death of Lady Carleton, there was something more than a ripple upon the political waters, and both Charles and Buckingham became anxious to reinstate the experienced pilot at the helm. Lord Carleton was sent to The Hague (accompanied by Sir William Knight, Garter King of

Arms), nominally to invest Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, with the Order of the Garter ;[1] but it had also been privately arranged that he was to remain there once more as British Ambassador.

It was bad news to Carleton and good news to Rubens when, in 1627, war was declared by England against France, on behalf of the Huguenots. Now seemed to be the time when Rubens might fairly hope that any inclination towards Spain, implanted by himself in Buckingham, would begin to bear fruit.

One of Ruben's brother artists, Balthazar Gerbier, had been Master of the Horse to Buckingham. He is far better known by the large family group of himself, his wife and his nine children, painted by Rubens and now at Windsor, than by his own pictures. He was chiefly a miniature painter, and there is a large oval miniature by him in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland. It is an equestrian portrait of the Duke of Buckingham, and of considerable merit. A letter written in 1628 states "that the King and Queen were entertained at supper at Gerbier's, the Duke's painter's house, which could not stand him less than £1000" (Bryan's "Dictionary of Painters"). Gerbier, a man of good family, had been born at Middleburg: his father had been half French, half Spanish, and his mother French ;[2] and when he was grown up he had settled in England. He had had, therefore, exceptional advantages in learning

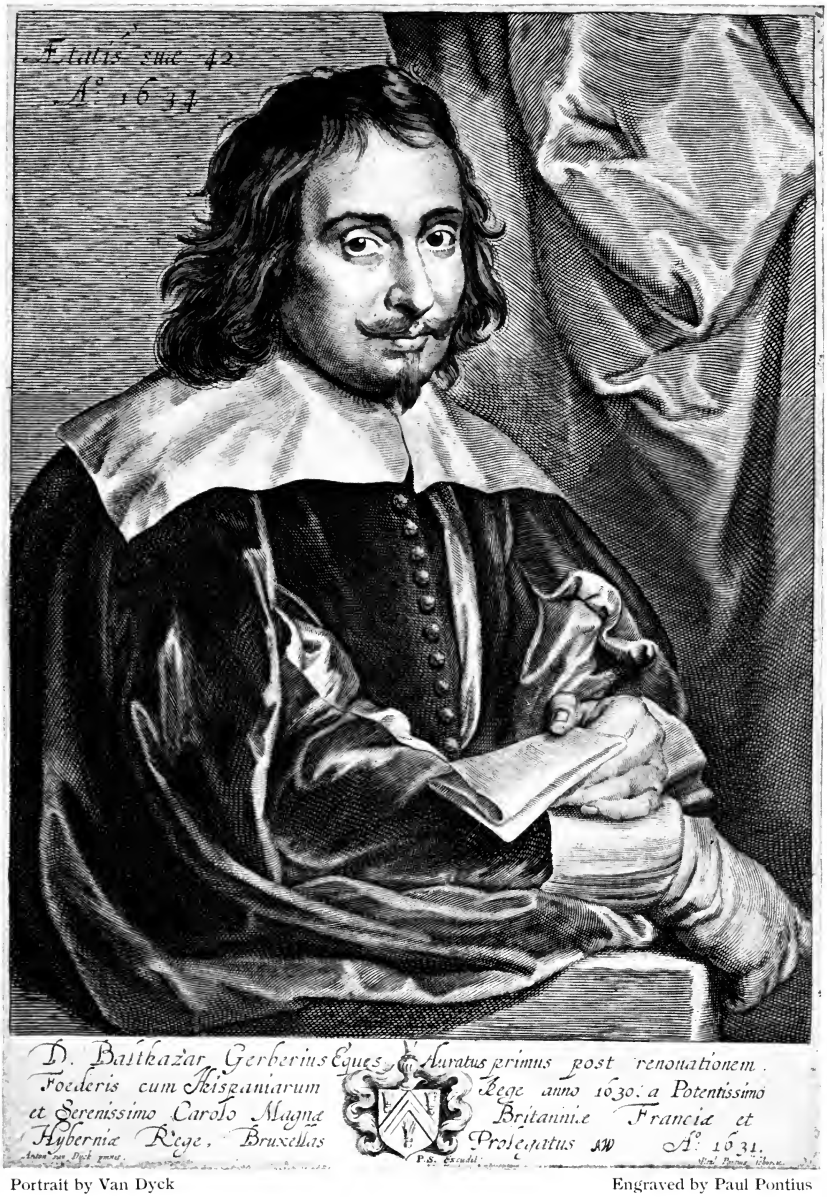
[1] Wood's "Athenæ," I, 563.

[2] A statement of his own (Sainsbury, p. 216).

languages; he was very cosmopolitan; he felt at home in several countries, but had no personal interest in, or attachment to, any. He was a painter, an architect, a connoisseur, a dealer; and he became the adviser, travelling agent, and purchaser of works of art for great men in England who collected such things. All this was profitable work, and it gave him opportunities of gaining yet higher profits by acting as a collector of state secrets, as a political agent, and as a spy.

Rubens now became anxious to get at Buckingham through Gerbier; and Buckingham determined to get at Rubens through the same medium: in fact he sent Gerbier to Rubens for that purpose. Now that he had induced Charles to declare war against France, Buckingham would have been glad of the help of Spain; but he could not make direct overtures to the Spanish Government for assistance in a war for the succour of the Huguenots. He knew, however, through Gerbier, that Rubens was the confidential adviser of the Archduchess Isabella, and that the Archduchess Isabella had much influence at the Court of Madrid. Buckingham had an admirable excuse for sending Gerbier to Rubens, namely that he wished him to persuade Rubens to sell him the whole of his collection of statuary, as well as many pictures.

Sainsbury gives (p. 68) a translation of a Memorandum of "The Discourses held between the Sieur Rubens and Gerbier". The Archduchess Isabella,



Portrait by Van Dyck

Engraved by Paul Pontius

SIR BALTHAZAR GERBIER

said Rubens, considered that the King of England, when Prince Charles, had not been treated well at Madrid: her great desire was to bring about a good understanding between him and Philip, and to put an end to the war. If the King of England wished for the restitution of the Palatinate, he should apply to the Emperor, but "the good understanding which had hitherto existed between England" and the Archduchess Isabella "should be preserved, and put upon a proper footing". Rubens insisted that Spain was willing to listen to reasonable suggestions; and on this being reported to Buckingham, he told Gerbier "that if Spain had a real and charitable design, he would meet it with open arms, on condition that the King of Bohemia was taken into consideration.

Buckingham's reply was reported in Spain, where it was very well received; but, soon afterwards, when it became known that England was raising an armament for the fleet, which, actually intended for hostilities against the French, was supposed at Madrid to be against Spain, Rubens wrote to Gerbier saying that "changes having taken place in the general aspect of affairs, Spain had come to somewhat different resolutions," and he "retraced his first overtures".

In another very similar memorandum (Sainsbury, p. 72) the statement occurs: "It is very necessary England should be disabused of the idea that the King of Spain can absolutely control the affairs of Germany;"—this was said because, in every negotia-

tion for the treaty with Spain, Charles kept harping upon the restoration of the Palatinate and insisting that the King of Spain should make the Emperor give it up to Frederick. The statement continues 'for it is very certain that the Emperor's army is paid with the money of the Catholic League, and that the King (of Spain) does not contribute to the pay of a single company, the Duke of Bavaria being general of this army, who it is well known is not a favourite with the King of Spain, who, through his Ambassador, the Count d'Onate, very openly opposed and protested against the conferring the Electorate upon the said Duke. . . . It is also to be considered that the Emperor does not always give way to the good pleasure of the King (of Spain), and that when he does he has his hands tied by the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, so that he is able to do little by himself. The Empire governs more than (does) the Emperor in person." In short, it was very plainly hinted, although hinted only, that Charles ought to hold his tongue about the Palatinate and make peace with Spain, when a suspension of arms in the Empire might very possibly follow. Then, perhaps, the matter of the Palatinate could be discussed; it might, or it might not.

This Memorandum was sent to Charles and Buckingham. Two replies sent by Buckingham were very polite, and they enlarged on Charles's piety and love of peace; but, at the end, came the usual and fatal: "It wil bee necessarie to include the restitution

of his Majesty's brother and sister to their honour and patrimonie". Again in "Answers to the Overtures Made by Rubens to Gerbier" (Sainsbury, p. 79) all goes well till we come to the last sentence: "Wherein the restitution of the honors and patrimonie to his Majesty's deer brother and sister must bee provided for by sufficient authorisation from Spaine, at least, so farre as the credit and power of that King extends unto".

On returning to The Hague, Carleton had found the Dutch in a very bad humour with the English. The prospects of a war between France and England gave them great uneasiness, especially as at that time they were negotiating a fresh treaty for subsidies from France on their own account. They would have been more uneasy still had they known that Buckingham was at the same moment considering the question of a treaty between England and Spain, the worst enemy of Holland; and who can say that some faint rumours of this question may not have leaked out in diplomatic circles? Carleton's right to a seat in the Council of State, which had actually lapsed during his previous stay at The Hague, but had been continued to him as a matter of courtesy until his residence there ended, was now a thing of the past; so he had no longer any share in the Councils of the Government. It is true that the Dutch were not actually hostile to the King of England; indeed they were afraid of offending him; but they were equally, if not more, afraid of offending the King

of France; and the personal bias of the Prince of Orange leant considerably more towards France than towards England.

It had been hoped, and indeed expected, that in addition to the Garter for the Prince of Orange, Carleton would have brought with him to Holland a far more acceptable gift, in the shape of the money which King Charles had promised for Mansfeldt's troops; but not a penny of it could he produce. Nay more, he had been ordered to ask the States General to recall Coen, their Governor in the East Indies and a man for whom they had a very high esteem, a request which gave them great offence. He was also ordered to protest against four large ships of war, then almost complete, having been built for the French in Dutch ports, as well as against a French contract with Dutch builders for fourteen more.

To make matters worse, news came to The Hague of the Duke of Buckingham's unfortunate expedition against the Isle of Rhé, the large island opposite La Rochelle, an expedition considered by the Prince of Orange a most imprudent and unprovoked aggression. And the Prince was right. Buckingham had undertaken the expedition nominally in the cause of the Huguenots—the cause of "true religion" of course—but really because the permanent occupation of that island would have been a serious menace to French shipping and thus a valuable weapon in the hands of England. Buckingham had exhibited great courage in the campaign; but four months after

Carleton's arrival at The Hague, owing partly to Buckingham's inexperience of war, partly to sickness among his troops, partly to want of confidence in his officers, partly to a mutinous spirit among his men, and largely to a delay, owing to adverse winds, in the arrival of reinforcements from England at a most critical moment, the English were totally defeated.

Carleton, however, had had many worries before he heard of this catastrophe. When the Dutch had said farewell to him nearly two years earlier, they had fully expected that Charles, unlike the weak, wavering, nervous, and faithless James, would give them the substantial help which he had promised ; but they had by this time discovered that they must hope for no more from the son than they had got from the father ; consequently they were in no humour for submission to Carleton's protests and requests.

As to Carleton's friend, Elizabeth, her husband, in despair of help from Charles, was endeavouring to make terms with the Emperor on his own account, at the very moment of Carleton's arrival at The Hague, an endeavour which was doomed to complete failure. Never, during the time he spent in the company of the dethroned Queen, had Carleton felt either so helpless as her champion, or so embarrassed as her friend. Not the least unpleasant of his duties, during this residence at The Hague, was that of breaking it gently to his favourite princess that, for diplomatic purposes, it might possibly be necessary for England to make

friendly advances to Spain. He could only give her the cold comfort of an assurance that, if this should happen, her own interests would be most carefully considered, guarded and furthered, in the matter.

CHAPTER X.

BUCKINGHAM had made it clear to Rubens, at Paris, that, in the case of a peace with Spain, England would be too deeply pledged to the Dutch to join in a breach with Holland. Although the Archduchess Isabella had failed to induce the United Provinces to return to the Spanish Allegiance, both she and the King of Spain hoped that, in the case of peace between England and Spain, at least another treaty might be made between Spain and the United Provinces ; but only on one condition, that those Provinces would give up calling themselves the Free States, a habit which could on no consideration be tolerated. Small as this matter may seem, it constituted a very serious hitch, and Charles and Buckingham hesitated to press the Dutch to yield about it.

Buckingham wanted to negotiate with Rubens about the proposed peace with Spain through Gerbier ; but Rubens wanted to negotiate in person with Carleton, for whom, as we have seen, he had a high regard and even affection. On 9/19 May, 1627, Rubens wrote from Antwerp to Gerbier, begging him to persuade Buckingham to arrange that there should be a meeting between Rubens, Carleton, Gerbier, and the Abbate di Scaglia, the Savoyard Ambassador, who had also

come to see Rubens with a view to making peace with Spain. "We could consult together with di Scaglia and Carleton," wrote Rubens.

But Carleton apparently disliked anything in the shape of amateur diplomacy. It is true that there was not yet a regular diplomatic service: anyone might be sent on an embassy. It is also true that so long as anybody was employed in a foreign country as the accredited representative of his own, however fresh he might be to the trade of an Ambassador, it was one thing; but that the entrusting of delicate diplomatic negotiations to artists pretending to be only painting portraits and dealing in pictures was quite another thing, and a thing of very doubtful expediency. Much as Carleton liked Rubens as an artist and a friend, he had no reason for feeling confidence, or the want of it for that matter, in him as a diplomat. When on a political embassy in Holland, Carleton had been delighted to talk about art with Rubens and to buy paintings from him; but he was not at all delighted at having politics mixed up with pictures. Rubens was given a passport to the United Provinces; but, instead of going there, he asked Gerbier to meet him just over the border. To this Carleton objected. He wrote to Conway (3 July, 1627): "Rubens having an absolute and ample passport . . . (which was obtained under pretence of a treaty betwixt him and Gerbier about pictures and other rarities) their meeting on the confines (which cannot be concealed) could be of no other use than to

put by the pretence, and fill the world full of talk of the true subject of their business. . . . Another danger of this meeting betwixt Rubens and Gerbier in the confines would be, the fame thereof which might be sent flying to the King of Denmark, who would doubtless much startle at the news."

Twelve days later, Carleton wrote to inform Conway that Rubens had at last come to Holland, "where he now is, and Gerbier in his company walking from town to town upon their pretence of buying pictures"; but Carleton disliked the whole business. He said: "I have not myself spoken with Rubens because he pretends to have orders not to come to The Hague, and for me to meet him at any of these adjoining towns would raise much discourse. . . . Much rumour is raised upon Rubens's coming, which was advertised hither from the first Inn he came to in Rotterdam, and will increase much in going. . . . In this umbragious (*sic*) time and place, there cannot be too much circumspection used to prevent inconveniences."

"Every man to his trade!" was clearly one of Carleton's mottoes. In a letter to Conway, written from The Hague on 2 July, 1627, Carleton said: "This day Rubens is expected here . . . what it will produce I cannot yet prognosticate; but I must let your Lordship understand that such advices as are come of late days from Brussells to the Prince of Orange from such secret intelligencers as they here rely upon, all concur that howsoever there is good affection in those parts to pacification, out of Spain

comes no sign of any such intention; but on the contrary that the Emperor's Ambassador who last returned out of Spain that way, had there openly declared that the King of Spain was resolved to pursue the advantage of his affairs as well in these parts as in Germany, where he dissuaded the Emperor to harken to peace with the King of Denmark or any accommodation about the Palatinate".

Two deputies from Franckendale, he wrote, were going to Brussels to complain of the suppression in their town of the churches, schools, preachers and teachers of the Reformed Religion "by the Spanish Governor . . . contrary to capitulation when that town was deposited by our late King of happy memory into the Infanta's hands. . . . And if Rubens come hither, I will let him know with the first what judgment must needs be made thereof; but that the Spaniards, however they temporise more than formerly with those of the Religion, in such places where they get possession, yet their end and scope is to establish their conquests by their utter extirpation."

His distrust both of Spain and of the diplomacy of painters is pretty evident from this letter. In another to the same correspondent, written on the following day, he says that Rubens did not come, after all, having been prevented by "those who have command over him". As to the Abbate di Scaglia, of whom Rubens had written to Gerbier that he was "very well satisfied" with the proposals made on behalf of Spain for a general peace, "showing no distrust," Carleton an-

nounced in the same letter the Abbate's declared opinion "that the present necessities of the Spaniards and disorder of their affairs, for want of money, will drive them to a treaty, though otherwise he seems to trust their fair dealing as little as other men".

Rubens continued to urge Gerbier to cross the boundary; Gerbier, on the contrary, continued to urge Rubens to go to The Hague. On 3/13 July he said in a letter to Rubens: "It is only by proceeding roundly that this good design can be brought to a successful result. Do not let this business which took its rise in pictures end in smoke; our ancient friendship gives me leave to speak plainly. And to return to the old subject, let me beg of you to send us the remainder of our pictures."

Sainsbury (p. 98) translated a letter written on 15/25 September, 1627, by Gerbier to Conway, in which he says that "the game is at an end, although, according to all their protestations and the correspondence of other ministers, all bordering upon the appearance of truth, the Infanta" (the Archduchess Isabella), "the Ambassador Mirabel at Paris, and this Don Diego" (Mexia, the Archduchess's Ambassador to England), "the pretended Messiah even, have all had a very sincere will, but which passing through pestilential places, has left health or life behind. See then the effect of time, a metamorphosis not of Ovid, but of the Cardinal" (Richelieu) "who knew so well how to crown himself with the red cap upon his faith upon his holy cross, to render the Government of England

odious and contemptible through the tales of Père Berulle" (French Ambassador in Spain) "now a Devil in Cardinal"—is this a vile pun upon the words "a Devil incarnate"?—"who has made them believe that England can be conquered in six months, if France should enter into a strict league with Spain. So at last behold everything overturned having reference to this treaty, upon which, through the letters and journeys of Rubens, I have been kept here so long. . . . Rubens says it is well known that these two nations" (Spain and France) "will agree like Fire and Water, that it is an artifice of the Cardinal in a single body against their nature and constitution, and more by passion than reason."

It is clear that Rubens was much put out at his failure to effect a peace between Spain and England. He had been acting all through on instructions from the Archduchess Isabella—not from the King of Spain, and probably, like other ladies who meddle with politics, she was apt to mistake politely veiled negatives for affirmatives and to assume too hastily that everything was proceeding as she desired. Count Olivarez was all-powerful at Madrid and he was still very sore about the ill-fated negotiations for a match between Charles and the Infanta. He had quarrelled with Buckingham and he was in an ill-humour with England. It is true that the Archduchess Isabella was the most faithful subordinate Sovereign of Spain, and Olivarez honoured her accordingly; but he seems to have shared Carleton's distrust of political-painters. It was something more

than distrust in the case of Olivarez; for there appears to have been some actual friction between him and Rubens. In a letter to Conway (14/24 Sept., 1627) Gerbier says: "Rubens in a little note tells me that he wishes the" (Spanish) "fleet would fall in with ours and the Spaniards get a good drubbing, so that the impetuosity of the Count Olivarez, etc., etc.". And in another, the next day, he writes about "The Count Olivarez, more fiery than ever, who, nevertheless, as appears by letters from Rubens, the Doctors on their side, Political as well as Ecclesiastical, ridicule with open mouths". Rubens and Olivarez, however, became on a very friendly footing in the following year.

When Spain and France had come to terms, Rubens wrote to Gerbier (8/18 Sept., 1627), that, in spite of "the union of the Kings of Spain and France for the defence of their kingdoms . . . the Infanta (the Archduchess Isabella) has not altered her opinions, but is in the same mind to continue the like offices to effect her good intentions". Her good intentions, of course, were peace between Spain and England. "Our correspondence shall be kept up with vigour, and we will give each other the necessary advices as opportunities offer."

When Lord Carlisle was at Antwerp in May, 1628, some difficulty had been made about his being received at Brussels. Having gone to the house of Vandyke, "to see some curiosities," one day after dinner, he was surprised to find Rubens, whom he

had supposed to be at Brussels. Carlisle described what then happened in a letter to Buckingham (27 May): "Rubens employed the best of his wits, the rest of the afternoon, to discover my inclination towards Brussels, betraying a great and general desire of my coming thither". They talked together till after supper.

Rubens came again "very early" the next morning; in fact before Carlisle was ready to receive him. Rubens made it clear that no more difficulties would be placed in the way of Carlisle's going to Brussels and he even seemed anxious that Carlisle should go there. Carlisle told Rubens that the mysterious vacillation shown about his admission to Brussels "well resembled all the other proceedings of Spain". Immediately after Rubens had made overtures for a peace between England and Spain, said Carlisle, Don Diego de Mexia had made a league between Spain and France against England, "a work as false and foolish as ever nation was guilty of". Rubens replied that the Archduchess Isabella and the Marquis Spinola "did both blush and abhor that act of Don Diego de Mexia". Carlisle continued his list of the misdeeds of the Spaniards. Among other iniquities, "a proposition was tendered and solicited by themselves of a marriage, between the (then) Prince Henry and the first daughter of Spain, who most perfidiously was afterwards given unto the French King. Secondly, to repair themselves, they made a second proposition of marriage between the second daughter and the

King my Most Gracious Master, and with what artifices that infamous treachery hath been carried, I leave the world and the God of justice to Judge : the Inheritance of my Master's sister and her children (the Palatinate) being taken away under colour of the Treaty, whilst himself in person went into Spain to seek the lady." (Here Carlisle was wrong in his dates.) "At which Mr. Rubens said that his Majesty's brother-in-law (Prince Frederick), with his party had been the incendiaries, and brought this misery upon themselves. Nay, said I, that Spain and her accomplices were the incendiaries, I shall prove to you, or let me lose the credit of a friend and honest man. This accordingly I proved with so many demonstrations as he said he much wondered how I came to knowledge of so many of their secret papers." They continued to argue, until Rubens "seemed very to grieve at the carriage of these things and made me believe that nothing but good intentions and sincerity have been in his heart, which on my soul I think is true, because in other things I find him a real man, and as well affected to the King of England's service as the King of Spain doth desire". "Spain," added Carlisle, "doth much desire a peace with the King of England for many and pressing reasons."

It may be a question whether Ruben's final consent, after many refusals, to sell the whole of his collection of pictures and statuary to Buckingham may not have been partly owing to a wish to ingrati-

ate himself with the Duke, in the hope of bringing about a peace between England and Spain. Not that the sale was a bad bargain for Rubens, from a commercial point of view, if Walpole was right in saying that Buckingham gave "ten thousand pounds for what had not cost above a thousand". Moreover Rubens stipulated that casts should be made, at Buckingham's expense, of all the finest statues, busts, and bas-reliefs in the collection, and that they should be left in the gallery of Rubens. According to Smith[1] there were, in this magnificent collection, nineteen pictures by Titian, twenty-one by Il Bassano, thirteen by Paul Veronese, eight by Palma, seventeen by Tintoretto, three by Leonardo da Vinci, three by Raphael, and thirteen by Rubens. How many ten thousands would not these pictures be worth now! Some twenty years after the death of Buckingham, a large part of this collection was sent for sale to Antwerp, where most of it was purchased by the Archduke Leopold for his gallery at Prague. The bulk of it is now in the Belvedere gallery at Vienna.

Much as Rubens desired a Treaty between Spain and England, he found much to dissatisfy him in the attitude of Buckingham, who had persuaded Charles to support the cause of the Huguenots against the King of France. Spain could not possibly join England in a war for such an object. Buckingham's slackening in any desire for a Treaty with Spain was shown by the change in the tone of Gerbier's letters.

[1] Quoted by Sainsbury, p. 65, F. N.

Gerbier had begun to leave the letters of Rubens long unanswered, and his replies had become cold and unsatisfactory.

But the fault was not all on the side of England. Rubens and Isabella had discovered that the King of Spain was hanging back from a peace, at least as much as was the King of England. The Archduchess, therefore, determined to send Rubens to attack Philip himself, now that he had more or less failed in his attack on Buckingham. When Isabella suggested that Rubens should be received at the Court of Madrid, nominally to paint portraits and chiefly to communicate some of her political ideas to Philip, that King, who had a shrewd idea of the Archduchess's motives, protested; because, like Carleton, he objected to an artist interfering in affairs of State; but, when he learned that Gerbier, the agent of England in the negotiations for peace, was also an artist, he withdrew his opposition.[1] Besides this, Philip was very glad to have Rubens at his Court as a painter.

One important consequence of this visit to Spain was that Rubens obtained the acquaintance of Velasquez, and made him his constant companion for many months. People devoted to art may consider that Rubens's persuasion of Philip to send Velasquez —a man more than twenty years younger than Rubens —to study painting in Italy, even more important than any influence which he exercised over that King in the

[1] See Dr. Hymans and Mr. Konnody in their joint article on Rubens in the "Encyclopædia Britannica".

matter of politics. Yet that influence was not without important political results. By degrees Rubens persuaded Philip, and, it may be inferred, Olivarez also, to regard the idea of a peace more favourably. Some time later Philip consented to a plan that, if possible, Charles should be persuaded to invite Rubens to England, for the purpose of painting his portrait ; and that the artist should then avail himself of the opportunity to assure the King of England of the friendly feelings of the King of Spain.

Meanwhile, as once more Ambassador to Holland, Carleton had a miserable time at The Hague. In a letter to the Secretary of State in London, he thus described some of the difficulties of his position : " When they (the Dutch) shall see that I have not so much as the interest, to content the creditors (to whom they are bound, as sureties to His Majesty) : and that some of the best inhabitants here at The Hague shall break for want of payments of the Queen of Bohemia's debts (which they now expected at my hands, and were kept at heart till my coming) : further that His Majesty's jewels, which are in pawn at Amsterdam, shall be exposed to forfeiture, and sale, for want of the interest money [which] I should like wise have brought with me (all which defects I have hitherto concealed the best I have been able) ; I shall hardly sustain His Majesty's service with any reputation. Wherefore I beseech your Lordship to move His Majesty to give precise and speedy orders on these points, according to such resolution, as His

Portrait by Rubens — From a Photograph by Hanfstaengl

PHILIP IV. KING OF SPAIN

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

Majesty, with his Council, undertook as more than necessary and confirmed more than once, when I undertook this employment."

This was practically telling his Government that it had broken faith with him. Even if he had come to The Hague as Ambassador under ordinary circumstances, with these heavy debts unpaid, he could "hardly have sustained His Majesty's service with any reputation"; but he had arrived at a very complicated time, and was commissioned to make some very dictatorial demands. A more disagreeable position for an Ambassador to occupy it would be difficult to conceive.

The demands for compensation for the outrage at Amboyna, and that the ships fitted out for the French in Dutch harbours should not be allowed to leave the ports so long as any friction remained between France and England, met with but a cold response from the States General. They promised an official inquiry into the incident at Amboyna, in reply to the first demand; but in reply to the second, they procrastinated and ended by ignoring it altogether.

The position was so strained in September that Carleton wrote to Conway on the 19th: "I know your Lordship will think, that considering my hard condition at home, I am much better in an employment abroad; but I am sensible of His Majesty's honour; and it is too great a scorn for a servant near his person"—he was Vice Chamberlain—"to remain here thus long, and so fruitlessly, with the quality of

an extraordinary Ambassador, to which this State has never been accustomed for more weeks than I have been here months".

Early in 1628, to Carleton's great delight, he received his recall, the moment of acting on it being left to his own discretion. And he had greater cause still for rejoicing ; because his old acquaintance, Lord Carlisle, on returning from a diplomatic mission in the North of Italy, passed through Holland, and informed him that he had good reasons for believing King Charles to have the intention of making him Chief Secretary of State, an appointment which had long been the highest object of his ambition.

Soon after his return to England, that is to say on 25 July, 1628, Carleton was raised a step in the peerage. In addition to being Baron Carleton, he now became Viscount Dorchester.

At first, after his return to England, Carleton attended the Court officially as Vice Chamberlain, in the post which he had held before going to The Hague. He had now gained the entire confidence of Buckingham, who confirmed the good news, brought to him by Carlisle, that he was shortly to be made Secretary of State in the place of Conway, whose health, and consequently his value as Secretary, was rapidly failing.

Buckingham's own position was now most unsatisfactory. So far as the King was concerned he was in as high favour as ever ; but he was detested and despised by the people. At the very time

when Carleton was created a Viscount, Buckingham was in a state of extreme anxiety about La Rochelle, which was still besieged, while its garrison and inhabitants were starving. His only chance of regaining his reputation appeared to be to fit out a fleet and proceed in person to its relief.

While his patron, Buckingham, was preparing to fight the French, Carleton was hoping to make peace with them; and he cherished the idea that diplomacy might bring relief to La Rochelle more speedily than could arms.

Carleton feared that, if the English were to relieve La Rochelle in battle, there would be a general Catholic-versus-Protestant war between France and England, a war in which Spain, already nominally at war with England, would be very likely to join with zeal on the side of France in the name of religion; in which case, instead of his own scheme for a peace between England and France, or the scheme of Rubens for a peace between England and Spain, England might have to contend against the armies of both Spain and France. And this danger appeared to be imminent, as the fitting-out of the fleet, for Buckingham's expedition to La Rochelle, was being carried on with a speed which caused Carleton much uneasiness.

On 2 August, 1628, Carleton received a visit from Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador, who brought with him a scheme of pacification between England and France, which had been forwarded to him by Zorzi, the Venetian Ambassador, at Paris. The full

and exact terms proposed in this scheme are unknown ; but we do know, from a letter from Contarini to Carleton (6 Sept., 1628, S.P. "France"), that they suggested the raising of the siege of La Rochelle, the granting of religious liberty to French Protestants by King Louis, and a renunciation by King Charles of all pretensions to interfere between the King of France and his subjects.

Carleton eagerly welcomed Contarini and his proposal, and he expressed his belief that Buckingham would be equally cordial towards both. Accordingly a meeting was contrived between Contarini and Buckingham, who assured Contarini that nothing would please him better, on arriving at La Rochelle, than to find the French Protestants, in that city and fortress, restored to their liberty and all their rights by the generosity of their own King ; but he stipulated that, if peace should be made between King Louis and the Huguenots, it should be made likewise between King Louis and King Charles. He proposed that, if the peace could not be concluded before he sailed with his fleet for La Rochelle, a meeting, at which the treaty should be signed, might be arranged between Richelieu and Buckingham under the very walls of La Rochelle itself. These arrangements were made largely at the suggestion, and much to the satisfaction of Carleton.

On 17 August, Buckingham was at Portsmouth inspecting the preparations of his fleet for its voyage to La Rochelle. The King was also in the neighbour-

hood, at Southwick, a house belonging to Sir Daniel Norton. Carleton was in attendance, and Contarini had also followed the Court. On 22 August, Contarini and Buckingham had a most satisfactory interview, and it was arranged that they should meet on the following morning in the presence of the King, when the whole affair was to be definitely and finally settled.

Early the next day, Carleton was sent by the King to Portsmouth, with instruction to bring Buckingham to Southwick for the conference with Contarini, and he found Buckingham at breakfast.

What followed shall be described by Carleton's own words, in a letter to the ex-Queen of Bohemia.[1]

"MADAM,

"I am to trouble your grace with a most Lamentable Relation. This day betwixt nine and ten o'clock in the morning, the Duke of Buckingham then coming out of a parlour into a hall, to go in his coach and so to the King (who was four miles off) having about him divers Lords, Colonels and Captains, and many of his own servants, was by one, Felton (once a Lieutenant of this our Army), slain at one blow, with a dagger knife. In his staggering he turned about, uttering only this word, 'Villain!" and never spoke more; but presently plucking out the knife from himself, before he fell to the ground, he made towards the traitor two or three paces, and then

[1] "Carleton to the Queen (of Bohemia), 27 Aug., 1628," "Ellis's Letters".

fell against a table although he was upheld by divers that were near him, that (through the villain's close carriage in the act) could not perceive him hurt at all, but guessed him to be overswayed by some apoplexy, till they saw the blood come gushing from his mouth and the wound, so fast, that life and breath at once left his begored body.

"Madam, you may easily guess what outcries were then made, by us that were Commanders and Officers there present, when we saw him thus dead in a moment, and slain by an unknown hand; for it seems that the Duke himself only knew who it was that had murdered him, and by means of the confused press at the instant about his person, we neither did, nor could. The soldiers fear his loss will be their utter ruin, wherefore at that instant the house and the court about it were full, every man present with the Duke's body, endeavouring a care of it. In the meantime Felton passed the throng, which was confusedly great, not so much as marked or followed, in so much that not knowing where, nor who he was that had done that fact, some came to keep guard at the gates, and others went to the ramparts of the town; in all which time the villain was standing in the kitchen of the same house, and after the inquiry made by a multitude of captains and gentlemen then pressing into the house and court, and crying out amain, 'Where is the villain? Where is the butcher?' he most audaciously and resolutely drawing forth his sword, came out and went among them, saying boldly, 'I am the Man, here

I am'; upon which divers drew upon him, with an intent to have then dispatched him; but Sir Thomas Morton, myself and some others, used such means (though with much trouble and difficulty) that we drew him out of their hands, and by order of my Lord High Chamberlain, we had the charge of keeping him from any coming to him until a guard of musketeers were brought, to convey him to the Governor's House, where we were discharged.

"My Lord High Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Cooke, who were then at the Governor's House, did there take his examination of which there is as yet nothing known, only whilst he was in our custody I asked him several questions, to which he answered, viz.: he said he was a Protestant in Religion, he also expressed himself that he was partly discontented for want of eighty-eight pounds which was due to him, and for that he, being a Lieutenant of a company of foot, the company was given over his head to another, and yet he said that that did not move him to this resolution, but that he, reading the Remonstrance, it came into his mind, that in committing the Act of killing the Duke, he should do his country great good service. And he said that to-morrow he was to be prayed for in London. I then asked him at what Church and to what purpose; he told me at a Church in Fleet Street-Conduit; and as for a man much discontented in mind. Now seeing things fall from him in this manner, we suffered him not to be further questioned by any, thinking it much fitter for the

Lords to examine him, and to find out, and know from him whether he was encouraged and set on by any to perform this wicked deed.

"But to return to the screeches made at the fatal blow given, the Duchess of Buckingham and the Countess of Anglesea came forth into a gallery which looked into the hall where they might behold the blood of their dearest Lord, gushing from him; ah! poor ladies,[1] such were their screechings, tears and distractions, that I never in my life heard the like before, and hope never to hear the like again. His Majesty's grief for the loss of him was expressed to be more than great, by the many tears he hath shed for him, with which I will conclude this sad and untimely news.

"Felton had sewed a writing in the crown of his hat, half within the lining, to show the cause why he put this cruel act in execution, thinking he should have been slain in the place: and it was thus: 'If I be slain, let no man condemn me, but rather condemn himself; it is for our sins that our hearts are hardened, and become senseless, or else he had not gone so long unpunished. JOHN FELTON. He is unworthy of the name of a Gentleman, or Soldier, in my opinion, that

[1] Lady Anglesea was Buckingham's sister. In a letter to another correspondent (S.P. Dom., Charles I, 27 Aug., 1628), Carleton wrote that Buckingham "fell down dead" in the hall, "with much effusion of blood. The Lady Anglesea then looking down into the hall, went immediately with a cry into the Duchess's chamber, who was in bed, and there fell on the floor."

is afraid to sacrifice his life for the honour of God, his King, and his Country. JOHN FELTON.'

"Madam, this is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, yet all too much too, if it had so pleased God. I thought it my bounden duty howsoever to let your Majestie have the first intelligence of it, by the hand of

"Madam,
"Your sorrowful servant,
"DUDLEY CARLETON."

In a letter to Lord Carlisle, dated 30 September, Carleton wrote: "No more had out of Felton than his first confession, and no torture has been used to him".

John Felton was hanged at Tyburn on 29 November, three months after his crime had been committed.[1]

[1] "John Felton . . . was a member of an old Suffolk family . . . a morose temper rendered him unpopular and hindered his advancements. Every application to Buckingham for his advancement was refused on account of an enmity . . . which existed between Felton and Sir Henry Stangate, a favourite of Buckingham. To his personal application that he could not live without a captaincy, Buckingham replied harshly, 'that he might go hang,' even his scanty pay earned during the leading adventure was not received. Exasperated by his ill-treatment, his discontent sharpened by poverty, etc., he bought a ten-penny knife on Tower Hill, and on his way through Fleet Street he left his name in a church to be prayed for, as a man much discontented in his mind." ("Encyl. Brit.," Eleventh Ed., X., 24). Some readers will remember the wonderful romance which the great Dumas the First wove around the sombre, self-involved, sullen

Dudley Carleton was a loyal dependant on Buckingham, and it may be that he was personally fond of him; but he had been several times employed in unpleasant diplomatic negotiations to get England out of the scrapes into which she had been brought through Buckingham's thoughtlessness, impulsiveness, and short-sightedness. At the moment of Buckingham's death, the feeling against him throughout the country was so intense—more intense, if possible, and certainly more universal, than it became many years later against Strafford—that his fall would seem to have been merely a question of time. Carleton was not the kind of man to desert a patron, under even the worst of circumstances, and the assassination of Buckingham cleared many difficulties and dangers out of his way.

At first, however, he was encountered by a grievous disappointment. The treaty with France, about which he had taken such trouble, and on which he had placed his hopes, fell through, owing to the stupidity of Charles. Repudiating that proposed treaty, the King sent a most dictatorial message to Louis, practically ordering him to grant freedom of worship to all his Protestant subjects, and to raise the siege of La Rochelle. He also sent his fleet to the

figure of Felton. Books attempting to tell the truth would be much more readable if truth came nearer to the brilliant inventions scattered through such historical novels as those of Scott and Dumas. And it is poor consolation to reflect that there is probably much invention, of a kind, even in a great deal that passes as real history.

assistance of that fortress. The attempts of the fleet were absurdly futile, and the impertinent communication of Charles was treated with contempt by Louis, who continued the siege of La Rochelle until it capitulated. When he had cancelled all its privileges and destroyed its walls, he voluntarily—although probably under pressure from Richelieu—granted toleration to his Protestant subjects, instead of persecuting and punishing them now that he had them completely in his power. Charles, therefore, might have spared himself all his pains in championing the cause of the Huguenots. For Louis granted his Protestant subjects, of his own free will, nearly everything which he had scornfully refused at the bidding of Charles, who thus became an object of ridicule and derision in the eyes of all the nations of Europe.

In December, 1628, Carleton was duly appointed to the Secretaryship. "The making" of Carleton Secretary of State, says Clarendon, "and a Peer of the Realm, when his estate was scarce visible, was the last piece of workmanship the Duke of Buckingham lived to finish, who seldom satisfied himself with conferring a single obligation." Carleton now held one of the most important offices in the gift of the Crown.

At this stage we must once more leave politics for paint, as Dudley Carleton about this time was interested in effecting a highly important purchase of pictures and statues for the King, a purchase at least rivalling that of the pictures which he had bought for Charles from Rubens. Daniel Nys, who had acted

for Carleton as agent in buying works of art when he was Ambassador at Venice, wrote to Carleton from Venice, 23 Jan./2 Feb., 1628-9:[1] "Your Excellency knows that when I was in Italy to induce the Duke Ferdinand of Mantua to sell me his pictures, who bit at it, and the Duke of Vincenzo having assented, he sold them to me, for 68,000 *scudi* to the great astonishment of all Italy, and the extreme disgust of the city of Mantua". But, "the best informed persons told me that I had left the most beautiful behind, and that, not having the Triumph of Julius Cæsar, I had nothing at all. This touched me to the core."

After a great deal of bargaining, Nys ventured to buy the nine drawings by Mantegna, exhibiting that "Triumph," and now at Hampton Court, with some very valuable statuary, for £10,500; although this had not been included in King Charles's commission. He seemed a little uneasy at having made this unauthorized investment, as he proceeded to say to Carleton: "I find that the negotiation has not been received in England conformally to my own sincerity; that they sought the advice of the Ambassador" (Sir Isaac Wake) "in which I fully agree; it gives me no annoyance"—but plainly it did annoy him—"to know that it is not enough to be a man of sincerity and honour, but that one must stand hammer and fire like gold. Your Excellency may believe me

[1] Translated by Sainsbury. Appendix Y, 327. The following letters on the same subject appear on the subsequent pages of Sainsbury.

when I say that all the statues now in England are but trifles compared to these, which have been proved to be far better and more valuable."

In a letter a week later, Nys said to Carleton: "I wrote that I would send drawings of the statues, which I have now done, together with a print of the nine pieces of the 'Triumph of Julius Caesar,' by Andrea Mantegna. I have sent the whole in a roll to Mr. Matthew de Quester, to consign them to Sir Philip Burlamachi, who has order to present them without delay to your Excellency, in order that you may show them to His Majesty. . . . I have also altered the greater part of the names of the statues, they will be found much rarer than those I have written about. I entreat his Majesty to believe that I have had no private interest in the negotiation, but that pure zeal for his service and his pleasure has led me to bargain for these varieties at a seasonable time, well knowing, this opportunity past, they could not be had for any amount of money. . . . Moreover they are unequalled, and no other prince possesses anything of like worth and quality."

In yet another letter he told Carleton that among the statues would "be found a complete series of all the Roman Emperors to Probus"—M. Aurelius Probus, A.D 276—"which is very rare, and no other prince has them". On 23 November, 1629, Charles I signed a warrant for £11,500, to pay "for certain pictures and statues," purchased by "Daniel Nys, Merchant". Unfortunately, Charles's money-orders

on paper were not very readily convertible into cash.

Weston, the Lord Treasurer, wrote to Wake the Ambassador: "I perceive his Majesty doth renew his resolutions to bring the statues and pictures, and order is taken for the speedy making over the Bills of Exchange for that purpose". Over these Bills of Exchange there was a great deal of trouble for many months, and even for some years. Four months after the date of the letter just quoted, Weston wrote to Nys:—

"I wrote to you four or five months ago that I would not fail to satisfy the bills that you should draw upon Philip Burlamachi"—the great financier in London—"for the purchase of the statues and paintings for his Majesty; but hearing they have become due, I must excuse myself, and beg that you will pay the bills of exchange which the said Burlamachi will redraw upon you, and be assured that when you draw upon him again, they shall be paid and satisfied." About this cool request Nys wrote to Carleton expressing great uneasiness; and ten months later he wrote again to Carleton complaining that the Lord Treasurer had not even then paid the money; although Nys had shipped off twenty-five cases of statues and was on the point of shipping more, which he said were the most valuable of all.

Burlamachi, on the other hand, was refusing to meet the bills, on the ground that Nys had bought the statues without any orders or directions from

Charles; an objection which seemed quite beside the question, since Charles had agreed to accept them after the purchase had been made.

Even Carleton wrote to Rowlandson, Wake's Secretary, recommending that no payment should be made to Nys until all the pictures and statues had been received and approved of in England.

As Carleton did not urge an immediate payment, Nys, in his despair, wrote direct to King Charles from Venice, on 16/26 July, 1630. "I most humbly beg leave to inform your Majesty, in consequence of a great run on the bank here, that there are no means of cashing the bills for the statues. The Sig. Burlamachi has, on this account, quite altered his tone, and seems to wish to ruin me and draw me into litigation. There is no course open to me but to come to your Majesty for assistance. May it please your Majesty to give Burlamachi satisfaction, all will go smoothly, but if you do not do so immediately, both he and I your humble servants, must be ruined . . . the statues and paintings are all fine and rare, and most exquisite. . . . If his Majesty does not promptly come to my assistance, my honour, myself, my wife and seven children are entirely lost."

Nys sent a servant to England, with orders to inform Carleton that he could have sold the pictures and statues to the Queen Mother of France for £15,000. Nys had heard of Carleton's objection to payment being made before the arrival of the things in England; and he wrote to Carleton, on 30 July/

9 August, that nothing of the kind had been said in the contract, two letters of the Lord Treasurer being witnesses to the contrary.

It was not until a year later (25 July, 1631), that Charles signed a warrant, which added to the other, made up £15,938 17s. 8d. owed by him to Nys for various works of art; nor was it till a year later still (July, 1632), that Nys shipped the remainder and best of the pictures and statues to England. Then Nys wrote a passionate appeal to Charles for help, stating that, although he had at last received the purchase money, he was on the brink of ruin, owing to the delays in meeting the Bills of Exchange and his consequent losses. If, said he, in the place of letting the King of England have these treasures, he had sold them to Cardinal Richelieu, he would have made a very large profit instead of being beggared.

CHAPTER XI.

SHORTLY after Carleton's appointment as Secretary of State, King Charles dissolved his Parliament, nor did he summon another during the lifetime of Carleton: he had alienated his people; and the men who had most influence with him concerning home affairs were Weston and Laud, two of the most unpopular men in the country. Weston, the Lord High Treasurer, had become the King's principal adviser after the death of Buckingham, although he never took Buckingham's place as the King's ruler. Weston's foreign policy so far differed from Carleton's that he dissuaded Charles from spending any money in attempting to recover the Palatinate; in short, as Treasurer, he must have known that he was totally unable to provide for a spirited foreign policy. Laud was disliked for several reasons, one of them being that he was an advocate of that very Arminianism which Dudley Carleton, at King James's command, had so vigorously opposed in Holland. There is no evidence, however, that Carleton was on anything but the best of terms with either Laud or Weston. He was simply a public servant who loyally served his master; and it is by no means impossible that, if ordered to do so, he might have propagated Arminianism for Charles

in England as ardently as he had opposed it for James in Holland. Lord Hardwicke says :[1] "Domestic concerns were no part of his province, but entirely managed by the Lord Treasurer Weston and Archbishop Laud". In spite of this statement, the fact of what the author of the "Biographia Britannica" calls Carleton's "acquiescence in all the obnoxious measures of Buckingham, Weston and Laud," cannot be altogether denied. And it was scarcely accurate to say that Carleton had "no part" in domestic concerns. But we must return to his foreign anxieties.

As sometimes happens in every walk of life, chance came to the rescue of an undeserving bungler. Owing to a combination of circumstances, Richelieu on the part of France, and Olivarez on the part of Spain, simultaneously dangled baits before the eyes of Charles I in the hope of obtaining his alliance. But neither bait was without its dangers.

As Gardiner says :[2] "A negotiation almost completed and publicly avowed with France, which might possibly lead to an alliance against Spain"—the policy of Dudley Carleton—"an inchoate and unavowed negotiation for a treaty with Spain, which might possibly lead to an alliance against France"—the policy of Rubens—"and a promise to send active aid to Denmark in its war against the Emperor ; such were the bewildering results of three months of Charles's diplomacy since he had lost Buckingham's assistance".

Fortunately Henrietta Maria was expecting, for the

[1] "Preface," p. xlviii. [2] "History," VI, p. 373.

first time, to become a mother, and Charles was so overjoyed that he forgot his domestic quarrels and became exceedingly anxious to please her. To make peace with her brother and to make her adopted country an ally of the country of her birth were obviously the best methods of gratifying her. Hitherto Charles had protested against the ill-treatment of Protestants by Louis, while Louis had as strongly protested against the far greater ill-treatment of Catholics by Charles. It was now agreed on either side that each of the two Kings should leave the other to ill-treat whomsoever he might please, and to manage his own subjects in his own way, a brilliant idea which apparently had never occurred to either of these wiseacres before : probably never would have occurred to either of them, had not Contarini suggested it.

Peace between England and France was not formally ratified until April, 1630—Charles II was born in May—and the chief credit of that peace was undoubtedly due to the Venetian Ambassador, Contarini ; but much of it might fairly be claimed for Dudley Carleton. It was fortunate for England that Richelieu's respect for Carleton did something towards counterbalancing his contempt for Charles. The death of Buckingham and, later on, the interesting condition of Henrietta Maria had also been elements conducive to the peace.

Some time before the peace was made, there was much searching of hearts in England, as to whether

a truce with France would mean a continuance of the war with Spain. That it would have this effect was the earnest wish of the Dutch, of Frederick, and of Elizabeth; and possibly even of the peace-loving Venetians. Carleton, although no friend of the Spaniards, does not appear at this time to have wished England to be at war either with Spain or with any other country. As Secretary of State, he cannot have been ignorant of the financial inability of Charles to carry on war on a large scale.

As we have seen, in a secret, tentative, and hesitating manner, *pourparlers* had been going on between England and Spain for some months. They had begun with a few informal suggestions by Rubens to King Philip, when he was painting the portrait of that King at Madrid. In 1629 Rubens came to England to paint portraits for Charles I. Probably King Charles had been strongly advised to send for him by those who wished him to be put into communication with the King for diplomatic purposes. One of these may very possibly have been Weston, who much desired peace with Spain, and another was certainly the Archduchess Isabella, who commissioned Rubens to sound Charles I and to try to pave the way for a peace between London and Madrid.

Rubens arrived in England between 20 and 27 May, 1629, accompanied by several attendants, including a chaplain. He had no authority from Philip IV and, even for the Archduchess Isabella, he only came as an informal political agent. T. Meantys,

Muster Master General of England, wrote to Jane Lady Bacon in June, 1629.[1] "You will, peradventure, hear speech of an Ambassador arrived here from the Archduchess; but it is only Rubens, the famous painter, appearing only in his own quality; and Gerbier, the Duke's painter, master of the ceremonies to entertain him."

On 11 June, 1629, Carleton's nephew wrote to him from The Hague, that Joachimi, the Ambassador from the United Provinces, in London, "hath written hither, that although Rubens be come, he hath brought with him no letter of credence nor the least thing authentical or substantial; and yet that there are great ones, that maintain him in countenance, and will needs make him something out of nothing". He begged his uncle to give him "some light on these mysteries," because the Ministers of the King of Denmark had learnt something of what was going on, and allege as their reason for "shutting up a peace so secretly with the Emperor, that his Majesty" of England "had begun a Treaty with Spain, and in all likelihood would make peace before them".

Rubens's chaplain was probably both the cause and the victim of an accident described by Carleton in a letter to Sir Isaac Wake (22 June): "Meanwhile Rubens stays here" (in London), "and Cize," a Gentleman in Waiting to the Prince of Piedmont, "makes no haste away, who had the

[1] Sainsbury, p. 130, F.N. From the "Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis," p. 201.

good luck to stay behind Barozzi," Secretary to the Duke of Savoy, "on Tuesday last, when, in shooting London Bridge, he had his boat overturned by the frightful stirring of one of his companions, a churchman from Brussels, then employed by Rubens, whom Barozzi was conducting to Greenwich and was there drowned. Barozzi himself being hardly saved at his third and last coming up to the top of the water by one of his spurs. Your acquaintance, little Oliver" (he was an executor of the Duke of Buckingham's will), "who was one of the company, went up and down (in the water) like a divedapper [1] and at length was taken up near the Tower."

Sir Isaac Wake,[2] in a letter to Carleton written on 24 June, 1628, a letter which probably crossed Carleton's letter to Wake, wrote: "Concerning the negotiation begun by the Abbate Scaglia" (Ambassador from Turin in London but just then in Spain), "and now pursued in England by Rubens, his Highness the Duke of Savoy, doth not know what to say, wondering much at the delays of the Spaniards and beginning to suspect their coldness. Rubens has complained to Barozzi of the little satisfaction he hath received in England, but his Highness doth much approve of your answer returned by his Majesty to his proposition, which he accounts to be not only im-

[1] "The Didapper [for *divedapper* (Shak.) from *dive*, and *dap* = dip. DABCHICK]. The dab-chick or little grebe." Annandale's Dictionary.

[2] Wake, who had formerly been a Secretary to Carleton, was at this time the English Ambassador at Turin.

pertinent but contrary to that which had been signified to him by the Abbate Scaglia, who had always protested against a suspension of arms and perpetually insisted upon a categorical conclusion of peace." He added that the Duke of Savoy could not help the King of England with any counsel in this important matter as he was at a loss to know what to do himself; that the Duke's confidence in His Ambassador, di Scaglia, was "something weakened," because he had "so confidently assured many things on behalf of the Spaniards" which they had failed to perform; and that Rubens had paid M. de Soubize, the French Ambassador in England, "with money of the same alloy".

The Archduchess's feminine attempts to carry on diplomacy clandestinely by means of an artist, ostensibly engaged only in the innocent occupation of painting pictures, was attracting more attention and creating more excitement in Europe than the presence of any of the accredited Ambassadors. We have seen that the secret mission of Rubens in England had aroused grave suspicions and unrest both in the United Provinces and in Denmark, that it was but half-approved of in Spain, that it was distrusted by the Secretary of State in London, that it perplexed the Duke of Savoy; and now we shall see that it caused great annoyance in Paris. Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English Ambassador in France, wrote to Carleton, on 4 July: "I find that they are here very jealous of Monsieur Rubens' negotiation in

England, many having spoken to me thereof, to whom I made answer that His Majesty cannot forbear to hearken to propositions which, in a fair kind, are made unto him, whereof he will afterwards judge as they deserve."

So much for secrecy and intrigue, however well intended!

We have already found the Duke of Savoy in a fidget about Rubens's irregular embassy, and in July, 1629, he fairly lost his nerve and gave the whole affair away to the Court of France. "The treaty of Spain," wrote Wake to Carleton, on the 8th, "being now divulged both by the Venetian Ambassador in England, and by the open treating of Rubens in England, His Highness is of opinion that it will not be fit to conceal any longer from the French Ministers that which they do already know; and therefore for fear lest they should quarrel with him for employing himself therein, he hath resolved to confess it unto them freely and to let them know that the Spaniards having desired him, a year since and more, to mediate a peace between the two Crowns"—England and Spain—"he had at their request employed some Ministers of his" (i.e. the Abbate di Scaglia).

Rubens paid a visit to Cambridge, and with several other foreigners, received the honorary degree of Master of Arts, on 23 September, 1629. He was a welcome guest to King Charles, who was devoted to works of art and no mean judge of them. Although Rubens had been sent to the King for

Portrait by Rubens — From a Photograph by Hanfstaengl

THE GRAND DUCHESS ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN

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purposes of politics, it was as a relief from politics that the King enjoyed his conversation. The year in which Rubens came to England was an eventful one. Charles had just got rid of his Parliament; he had imprisoned some of its members; he had humiliated the judges, constitutional questions of enormous importance were unsettled; and as to foreign affairs, says Gardiner, considering that Charles "was treating more or less openly with Richelieu, with Olivarez, with Christian IV, and with Gustavus Adolphus at one and the same time, was it to be wondered at if he failed to secure the confidence of any one of them?" Worried by this foreign and domestic chaos, he must have found it soothing to discuss line, colour, and chiaroscuro with the greatest artist of the period, to join with him in criticizing the works of the great painters of the past, and in forecasting the prospects of art in the future.

Faithfully as Rubens kept before his mind the diplomatic mission with which he had been entrusted, his eye and his hand were as energetic as if he had come to England solely for purposes of art. It is true that a diplomatic suggestion may have been intended in the great allegorical picture representing the horrors of war and the blessings of peace, which he painted and presented to the King, a picture destined to go to Italy, at the breaking-up of Charles's splendid collection, to be purchased for £1100 from the Doria family, to return to England and be offered to the nation, to be refused on its behalf by

Pitt, and to be purchased by the first Duke of Sutherland for £3000, and generously presented by him to our National Gallery, early in the nineteeth century. Rubens made sketches, for which he is said to have received £3000, for the decoration of the ceiling of the throne room at Whitehall, and he painted a picture of the Assumption and another of St. George and the Dragon, during the eight months which he spent in this country.

Much as Charles delighted in the artistic conversation of Rubens, he did not always find the great painter's political remarks quite to his taste. Sometimes Rubens spoke his mind very plainly.[1] On one occasion, Charles observed that he hoped the Prince of Orange would be successful in his siege of one of the principal fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands. "Why," said Rubens very boldly, "should your Majesty wish the triumph of my master's rebels?" Charles replied: "I found them a free state. I do not know them as rebels. They are my friends, and I wish them to gain the victory, in order that your master may become more moderate."

Considering Carleton's dislike to all this amateur diplomacy, and his own personal prejudices against Spain, it cannot have been altogether displeasing to him to find Charles at one time somewhat out of

[1] Contarini to the Doge, May and June, 1629. Also Contarini to Zorzi, June and July, 1629; Venetian Transcripts. On the same negotiations, Rubens to Olivarez, "Simancas MSS.," 2519; quoted by Gardiner, Vol. VII, pp. 102-3.

humour with Rubens and the Spanish overtures. At this juncture a fresh French Ambassador arrived, in the person of the Marquis de Châteauneuf, who announced that he was empowered to invite the active co-operation of England with France against Spain. But Châteauneuf was new to England, to King Charles, and to the domestic situation; and he committed the blunder of suggesting that Charles, who, to his own intense relief, had just got rid of a Parliament, should summon another for the express purpose of voting supplies for a war against Spain; whereupon Weston, who was friendly to Spain, hated wars, and, as Lord Treasurer, held the purse strings, vehemently supported Châteauneuf's suggestion of a Parliament, and seized the opportunity of impressing it upon Charles that, if he wished to have funds for a war upon Spain, it would be necessary at once to call a Parliament, which he was absolutely certain, in his own mind, nothing would induce the King to do.

Startled by Châteauneuf, Charles had recourse to Rubens, who suggested that it would be more satisfactory if Spain and England had representatives at each other's Courts, as formerly. Charles liked the idea; it was entirely to the taste of his chief adviser, Weston, and there is nothing to show that Carleton opposed it. Accordingly Don Carlos di Coloma came from Spain as Ambassador to London, and Sir Francis Cottington was dispatched from England as Ambassador to Madrid. Cottington, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, was as much

attached to Spain and the Spaniards as Carleton had been opposed to them. The words "had been" are necessary; for Carleton was now loyally endeavouring to bring about a treaty of peace with Spain because his master wished it. Since King Charles protested, as usual, that the assistance of the King of Spain in recovering the Palatinate should be one of the main conditions of that treaty of peace, Carleton had *primâ facie* grounds for assuming that peace with Spain would be conducive to the interests of his ex-Queen at The Hague. Yet such a distruster of the Spaniards, and such an experienced and far-seeing diplomatist, can scarcely have believed that King Philip would allow any terms to be inserted in the treaty binding him to become an active enemy of the Emperor for the sake of a sister of the King of England.

Rumours of a probable peace between England and Spain had reached the ears of Elizabeth some months before Rubens had come to England. The Spaniards, it was said, were boasting that Charles, who had been the first to break the peace, had now become the first to ask for its renewal. To prepare Frederick and Elizabeth, as gently as was possible, for this contingency, Carleton wrote to his nephew, at The Hague,[1] saying that, although a treaty of peace was on foot, the interests of the King's sister would be most sedulously regarded; that she and her husband would be informed before anything was settled; and that warlike preparations against Spain would still

[1] "German Correspondence," 2 March, 1629.

continue, as quite possibly the negotiations for peace might fall through. Charles himself wrote to Elizabeth: "Those ways which he"—Sir Harry Vane—"shall show you that I am taking, is like those physics which men call *benigna medicamenta;* which, if they do no good, shall do no hurt, therefore not to be despised since they are offered . . . my chiefest ambition is to do you real service". Carleton kept in constant correspondence with Sir Harry Vane, who had charge of the Spanish affair in Holland, with orders to keep the Dutch in good humour and try to pacify Elizabeth.

It was indeed an irony of fate that Dudley Carleton, hitherto the inveterate enemy of everything Spanish, and the friend of Elizabeth, who considered every Spaniard her natural enemy, should be deputed to attempt peace-making with Madrid. "Lord Dorchester," says Lord Hardwicke in his Preface to Carleton's "Holland Letters," "had the direction of the negotiation for a peace with Madrid; the first overtures of which had been carried on between Rubens the painter, by a private commission from the Infanta at Brussels, and Balthazar Gerbier, master of the horse to the Duke of Buckingham. The King was indeed engaged to check the ambitious views of that monarchy by his treaty with the States (General) and to recover the Palatinate for his sister the Queen of Bohemia and her children. But his domestic necessities"—i.e. discontented subjects and an empty Exchequer—"overruled all foreign considerations; and he thought it

prudent to have peace with the most powerful of his neighbours, whilst he was fixing his government on a prerogative basis at home. The intentions of Spain were likewise pacific with regard to England; their designs of acquisition were turned towards Italy and France; and the great object of the politics of Olivarez was the destruction of his rival, Richelieu."

Thus the negotiations began, and at first proceeded pretty smoothly, between Carleton and the Spanish Embassy. It must have been some relief to Elizabeth to know that the matter, if it had to be dealt with at all, would be to a great extent in the hands of her trustworthy friend, Carleton. She was not the only person at The Hague who was aware of these secret proceedings between Spain and England. Although Carleton had been ordered to warn her to keep a strict silence about them, the Dutch Government discovered their existence, and no sooner had Holland learned that England was privately negotiating with Spain than, quite as privately, Holland began to negotiate with Spain on her own account. England and Holland were each hoping to make better terms than the other; or rather, perhaps, each may have been fearing that the other might make better terms with Spain than herself.

CHAPTER XII.

If the presence of Rubens in the character of a politician as well as a painter, was grateful to King Charles, to Carleton it was only welcome because Rubens was a great artist and an agreeable companion. Carleton sympathized little with the diplomatic efforts of Rubens. On a certain occasion, unfortunately, Rubens had been saying one thing and the Ambassador from the United Provinces had been saying another. "What credit to give hereunto," wrote Carleton to Cottington (21 March, 1630), "is hard to judge, because Rubens hath won the reputation here amongst us of too honest a man to speak untruths contrary to his own knowledge; and Joachimi is a person of approved sincerity;" therefore he leaves the two "men to the justification of their own consciences". Much as he liked and esteemed Rubens as a man, Carleton can scarcely have found it a matter of regret, when the time came for that artistic diplomat to leave England. On 17 February, 1629-30, Gerbier wrote[1] to Cottington that the new Spanish Ambassador, Don Carlos di Caloma, had arrived in London, that Rubens had taken leave of the King and Queen, and that he intended to start for the con-

[1] Sainsbury, p. 143.

tinent in four or five days "notwithstanding everyone wishes his remaining for many reasons". Gerbier complained that he himself was no longer employed —he had several times acted semi-officially as an agent of the English Government, and in the following year he was made British Ambassador at Brussels. But, until then, he had not been invited officially to take an ostensible part in international affairs and his only appointment was that of "innkeeper to Rubens". At this he felt very sore.

Writing of himself in the third person as "Gerbier" he had bitterly complained to Cottington about the negotiations with Rubens for a peace with Spain. He said "that as he had had the honour to begin this business, he ought not to have been . . . innkeeper to Rubens," while other men, entrusted with negotiations with Rubens which ought to have continued to be conducted, as they had begun, through Gerbier, "should conduct themselves before Gerbier in the presence of Rubens, as though Gerbier should on no account be trusted". Gerbier "has swallowed these bitter pills patiently, although with an offended spirit, seeing that he has given such clear proofs that he might be trusted. . . . Gerbier knew, from the first hour of Rubens's negotiation until now, all that passed; and Rubens, concealing nothing from him, has not received bad intelligence from Gerbier, who accordingly has been enabled to advertise him of several things, and Gerbier having known everything from the commencement" might surely have been trusted, etc.

He accused Weston, the Lord Treasurer, of want of confidence in him, and of opening one of his letters.

The trustworthiness of Gerbier, however, must have been but moderate, if we may judge from a letter which he wrote to Charles I on 29 October, 1631, concerning "a secret with which the Chevalier Rubens" had entrusted him. The secret was this, that Rubens had received a letter from the Abbate di Scaglia, in which he said: "It is necessary, in accordance with what I have already written concerning the journey of the Queen Mother" (of France) "to England, that this opportunity, the accouchement of the Queen" (of England), "to make the journey be not lost, knowing how much her presence might lead to negotiations with the Infanta, but that no living soul may know this intelligence comes from me". Of this Gerbier wrote: "The Sieur Rubens bound me to secrecy by oath, which would have very much troubled me but for this outlet, *that I did not promise him not to write about it to your Majesty*[1] who will (I hope) keep this a profound secret, for otherwise it would be impossible for those whom your Majesty does the honour to employ, ever to learn secret things".

In Gerbier's opinion, it was no breach of an oath of secrecy to write its import, so long as it was not spoken by word of mouth. Whether Rubens placed the implicit confidence in Gerbier which Gerbier implied in his letter to Cottington, may be inferred

[1] The Italics do not occur in the original.

from the following extracts from a letter to the Abbate di Scaglia (5/15 Nov., 1631) written by Rubens: "If this matter be treated of, it ought to be as a hidden thing, and not pass through Gerbier's hand, who has caused himself to be greatly suspected. . . . You should not trust yourself to Gerbier."

Before he left England, Rubens had been knighted. In a list of knights in the State Paper Office occurs: "21 Feb., 1629-30, Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Ambassador from the Archdutchesse at Whitehall," from which it would appear that during the latter part of his visit to England he was the acknowledged Ambassador from the Spanish Netherlands. Charles gave him the sword, set with diamonds, with which he had knighted him; and, in the books of the Lord Chamberlain's office[1] is "A Warrant for a privie Seale of £500 unto Mr. Balshasar Gibiere for a diamond ring and a hatband by him sold to his Matie to be presented unto Signor Pierre Paulo Rubens, Secretary and Councillor to the King of Spaine. Feb., 20 1629-30." So here we find him with quite another title, and under a different Sovereign! But it was correct; for[2] "The King of Spain created Rubens's son, Albert, by Letters Patent of the 5/15 June, 1630, Secretary of the Privy Council, in reversion, on the death of his father". Waagen says[3] that Rubens also received on taking

[1] See "Memoirs of Vandyck," by Carpenter, p. 168.

[2] Sainsbury, p. 148.

[3] "Rubens, His Life and Genius," p. 34.

Portrait by Rubens — From a Photograph by Hanfstaengl

HELEN FOURMENT, RUBEN'S SECOND WIFE

leave of Charles "a handsome service of plate, and the portrait of the King appended to a rich chain of gold, which last, in grateful remembrance, he ever after wore round his neck".

How coldly all these negotiations for a peace between Spain and England were regarded by Spain's ally and relative, the Emperor, may be realized from a letter written by Mason, the English Ambassador at the Imperial Court, to Sir Harry Vane (15 Oct., 1630): "It will perhaps seem strange to some in England, that after the first overture made long since by the Abbate di Scaglia . . . Gerbier's employment of Rubens . . . Rubens his interposition in the name of the Infanta . . . and his express journey to the purpose into Spain . . . another of Mr. Emdymion Porter to that King" (Spain) . . . "Mr. Rubens his known embassy in England . . . the extraordinary embassy of Sir Francis Cottington . . . and a Duke pretensively sent from Spain for the service of the King of England . . . his Majesty's Extraordinary Ambassador here," i.e., himself, "should have but once audience of the Emperor in all this time".

During Advent in the year of his leaving England (1630), Rubens married a second time, his bride being his niece, Helena Fourment, who was scarcely sixteen, whereas he was fifty-four, or more than three times her age.

Not very long afterwards, Carleton was commissioning Rubens to have pictures painted for him in the Netherlands, one by Snyders and others by

"those in this country who are worthy to paint them," as Gerbier wrote to Carleton from Brussels. Carleton was requested to let Rubens know the sizes of the frames these pictures were to fit, instead of Carleton being informed of the sizes of the pictures for which he was to order frames.

After the return of Rubens to Brussels, he was sent by the Archduchess to Spain with a view to expediting the proposed peace with England; and, after leaving Spain, he was employed for a considerable period in an endeavour to induce the United Provinces to come to terms with the Spanish Netherlands.

From the time of Carleton's appointment as Secretary of State, the foreign correspondence was nominally under his management until his death; but to what extent he was enabled to influence King Charles in his foreign policy is doubtful. Often must the uncertain action of the King have embarrassed him. An instance in point occurred in relation to the proposed treaty with Spain. Cottington, at Madrid, was negotiating the peace, and he sent dispatches to London intimating that King Philip wished the peace to be made first, and the agreement for united efforts towards the restoration of the Palatinate to be made afterwards; whereas King Charles had made it a *sine quâ non* that united efforts for the restoration of the Palatinate should be made first, and that the peace should be made afterwards.

In reply to Cottington, Charles himself wrote, on

7 April, 1630: "The greatest matter of doubt and difficulty at this present is, both we and that King" (of Spain) "meeting in good intention to establish a peace of firmness and continuance between the two crowns, which should have the precedence, the Peace or the Restitution; the Peace being pressed by that King, and the Restitution required by us".

As both medium and manager of the foreign correspondence, Carleton can scarcely have failed to see this letter, and very possibly he may have inspired it. On the strength of it, he would seem to have been fully justified when, in August, after Prince Frederick had expressed a hope that peace would not be concluded unless the restoration of the Palatinate were made one of its conditions, Carleton wrote to assure Frederick that the Treaty of Peace with Spain was not yet signed, nor would be signed without the condition in question.

But another Minister, at home, besides Carleton, meddled in foreign affairs. Weston, the Lord Treasurer, told di Coloma, the Spanish Ambassador in London, that he knew King Charles would sign the Treaty of Peace, whether the restitution of the Palatinate were mentioned in it, or whether it were not; and that his demand for its mention was only made in order to quiet the troublesome people who were endeavouring to sow discord between himself and King Philip.

This, of course, was privately repeated by di Coloma in his letters to Madrid; with the result that the

King of Spain insisted more than ever on the Treaty of Peace being dealt with primarily and as a matter quite independent of the restoration of the Palatinate; at the same time he promised to do all in his power to induce the Emperor to remove the ban from Frederick, so that that Prince might occupy the towns now held by the Spanish troops, after which he would probably be able to regain the rest of the Palatinate. Charles told di Coloma that he must at least have a separate and a written declaration by the King of Spain on this point. With such conditions, the peace was made and the treaty was signed in November, 1630, nine months after the departure of Rubens from England.

The probable value of such a peace was estimated by the Prince of Orange, who was quite aware that Charles regarded the restoration of the Palatinate as virtually part of its conditions. "Whenever," he said to Vane, "either the Upper or the Lower Palatinate is restored by treaty, I will give his Majesty" (of England) "my head, which I should be loth to lose." And he added that to recover either of the Palatinates from the great and powerful Emperor by the sword would be "as full of difficulty as by treaty".

To Rubens this peace must have been a matter of unqualified satisfaction and he could justly pride himself on having been largely instrumental in bringing it about. To Carleton it was another affair. It is true that he had loyally obeyed his King in furthering the negotiations, and he knew how necessary at that time was peace to England, for financial reasons;

but he could not expect any peace between England and Spain to be pleasing to the object of his chivalry at The Hague. Elizabeth wrote—not to him, but to her favourite butt, Lord Carlisle:[1] "Thou ugly filthy camel's face . . . I have charged this fat fellow" (Sir Harry Vane, who had been to The Hague on an Embassy connected with the peace with Spain) "to tell you . . . how all things are here, and what they say to the peace with Spain; and though I confess I am not much rejoiced at it, yet I am so confident of my brother's love, and the promise he hath made me, not to forsake our cause, that it troubles me the less. I much desire your sweet face to continue your help to us, in this business which concerns us so near; and in spite of you, I am ever your most affectionate friend, ELIZABETH." In the same year (1630), the writer of this letter had her twelfth baby, a girl. At the moment, probably

[1] Green's "Princesses," Vol. V, 482. Lord Carlisle, says Weldon, first gained the favour of the King by giving him an extraordinarily costly feast. A footnote to Bassompierre's "Memoirs" (p. 36) tells us: "It was not enough for his ambition that his suppers should please the taste alone, the eye also must be gratified; and this was his device. The company was ushered into a table covered with the most elegant art and the greatest profusion, all that the silversmith, the confectioner or the cook could produce. While the company was examining and admiring this delicate display, the viands of course grew cold and unfit for such choice palates. The whole, therefore—called the ANTE-SUPPER—was suddenly removed and another supper, quite hot and containing the exact duplicate of the former, was served in its place (Weldon, 271; Lodge, 11, 45)."

no Royal personage in Europe appeared of less importance; yet this child was destined to be the mother of George I, and it was through her that he came to the Throne of England. Sophia was the last but one of Elizabeth's thirteen children.

A little later, Elizabeth admitted that, although still confident of her brother's love, she had lost all confidence in his promises; for she said in a letter (1 July, 1631, "German Correspondence"): "I believe nothing but what I see; for he gave me as much assurance that he would never make truce or peace with Spain, without the entire restitution of the Palatinate, and yet you see the contrary, so as I am confident of nothing but my brother's love," etc.

The Peace between England and Spain had been signed at Madrid on 5 November, 1630, and it had been proclaimed in London on 5 December. But, far beyond this simple Treaty of Peace, on 2 January, 1631, Cottington had also signed at Madrid a secret Treaty between England and Spain for the partition of the independent Netherlands. Than such a Treaty nothing could have been farther from the desire of Carleton, who had been throughout a faithful friend to Holland. How far, if at all, King Charles was privy to it, or consenting to it, is uncertain. It is true that he did not ratify it when it was brought to England; in fact it never was ratified. On the other hand, he did not at once repudiate it with indignation, as might have been expected if it had been made by his Ambassador without his authority; and his elevation of

Cottington to the peerage, when he shortly afterwards returned to England, was very suspicious of both approval and consent.

The changeable Charles, however, soon cooled in his friendship for Spain. That great warrior Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, supported by the Protestant Alliance, was making war upon the Emperor with considerable show of success; and Charles hoped, by means of this powerful cat's-paw, to obtain the restitution of the Palatinate for his sister. Towards the assistance of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles allowed the Marquis of Hamilton to raise levies, and he gave him £11,000 for their support. At least one historian (S. R. Gardiner) was of opinion that these levies were not only intended to serve as a threatto the Emperor, in hope of inducing him to surrender the Palatinate, but also to "be used as a check upon the ambition of Gustavus, if that end were once obtained".

Frederick joined Gustavus Adolphus and took part in the campaign; but Charles would not send troops to assist in it directly on his own account. Gustavus professed himself prepared to attempt the capture and restoration of the Palatinate, provided that Charles would join heartily and substantially in the war; but Charles had begun to think of turning round and joining the Emperor and Spain against[1] Gustavus Adolphus and the Protestant Alliance, on condition of

[1] Charles's actual negotiations about this matter were not fully under weigh until October, 1631.

the restoration of the Palatinate.[1] Therefore he put off the offers of the King of Sweden by expressing hopes of settling the disputes of Europe by diplomacy rather than by the sword, as had invariably been the case both with himself and with his father, whenever a definite demand was made for their assistance in a war.

In this position of affairs, Elizabeth gave up supplications and sent a grave remonstrance to the brother who was always avowing his love by words, and failing to prove it by deeds.

"My only dear Brother," she wrote, on July, 1631,[2] "This worthy Lord Wharton gives me means to write these lines to you, and humbly beseech you now to show your favour to your brother and me. You shall understand by his letters to the Lord of Dorchester"— by "his" she probably meant Frederick's, and not Wharton's, letters to Carleton—"more particularly all things; I only beseech you to give me leave to say truly to you, that if this opportunity be neglected, we may be in despair of ever recovering anything; for by treaty it will never be done, as you may easily see by the delays they have already made; and let not yourself be deceived, that it may be some will persuade you that now the treaty will be easier than ever; for assure yourself, if they give you good words now, it will be only to gain time, and keep you from assisting so that the King of Sweden may be disheartened to do anything for us, and make his own

[1] Gardiner, VII, 190.

[2] "Carleton's Letters," 4to, London, 1780.

peace, so as we shall never have anything, but live to be a burden to you, and a grief and affliction to ourselves and posterity. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, my dear brother, now show the effects of the love you are pleased to bear me and mine, and let none persuade you from it ; for your own honour is as much interested in it, as our good ; for if you now do nothing but treat, I beseech you give me leave to say that the world will wonder at it." She ended by begging his forgiveness for writing with such freedom. The letter is dated " From The Hague, in 7/17 October".

On receiving this epistle, Charles was both angry and hurt. After reading it hastily, he sent for Carleton and told him to read it aloud to him.[1] During its perusal, he frequently interrupted Carleton with irritable exclamations and protests, and, when Carleton read the words "if you do nothing but treat," he fairly lost his temper and put a stop to the reading. It was most unkind of his sister to write in such terms, he exclaimed to Carleton. If he was treating, he held his sword in one hand and his pen in the other. (True, perhaps. His pen in his right hand, and his sword in his left.) Was he not paying for Hamilton's troops in her behalf, at that very moment? Had he not sent Sir Harry Vane to Gustavus Adolphus with the sole object of making an alliance for a war against the Emperor if peaceful overtures should prove unavailing? Had not his sister and his brother-in-law

[1] Mrs. Green's "Lives of the Princesses," v, 490.

been the chief objects of his anxiety and his policy since he was a boy? And, now, to suspect him of indifference to their cause was the return they made to him for all his kindness, his exertions, and his sacrifices for their interests. Carleton was to write both to Elizabeth and to Frederick and tell them very faithfully what Charles thought of her misstatements and their ingratitude.

The anger of Charles was still further inflamed by a letter which came from Frederick immediately afterwards, saying, in rather a haughty tone, that he hoped soon to have such assistance from Gustavus Adolphus as to render any further trouble on his behalf by King Charles superfluous. There were also rumours that Frederick was privately making treaties and alliances with the King of Sweden, quite irrespective of Charles and the interests of England. All this so annoyed the King that he imposed upon Carleton the disagreeable task of writing to Frederick, warning him of the danger of underhand dealing. It is probable that, besides his formal and official letters, Carleton managed to send private hints to his correspondents through his nephew, as to the replies which it would be judicious for them to make. In due course, letters arrived for Carleton, both from the Prince and from the Princess, evidently intended for the eye of the King.

To the King Carleton took them. He found him, as he wrote to Elizabeth, "in the midst of his antique pictures, no less employed than I know your

Majesties are, in like businesses when you take them in hand in right order; which work being ended, I besought him that, now he had done disposing his Emperors, he would think of supporting the Kings".

Either his "antique pictures" had put Charles into a good humour; or Carleton had succeeded in rendering him in such a condition of mind; for, when the King had carefully read the letters, Carleton was able to write to Elizabeth: "All is fully rectified between you and His Majesty, who is so far from excepting to your freedom of writing, that I know no pen from which he doth more willingly and gladly understand the state of affairs than Your Majesty's own".

Now that Dudley Carleton was Secretary of State, the correspondence between himself and Elizabeth was more or less official and open to the inspection of King Charles, so she had to write to him with reserve; but, to Sir Thomas Roe, the agent of Carleton in Poland and certain parts of Germany, she was still at liberty to write familiarly and freely. In a letter to Roe,[1] we read: "HONEST TOM . . . I confess that I look for no help from my brother, whose nature and affection I know are as good as can be, but is deceived by those he trusts".

[1] "The Hague, 3/13 of January" (1632).

CHAPTER XIII.

We saw in the last chapter that Carleton had been placed in a most disagreeable and even painful position; and at the beginning of this chapter we shall find Rubens in but little better case. Courts, politics, and diplomacy have generally entailed more or less anxiety and trouble upon those who have had much to do with them; but at no time have they done so more than in the seventeenth century.

Once more, Rubens was unsuccessful in his efforts to conciliate the United Provinces, and political matters were not going to his satisfaction at Brussels. Gerbier was suspected by the Archduchess, and he had been acting imprudently. Fragments of correspondence show that Rubens disapproved of some of his doings and he seems to have been afraid of getting into trouble with his political employers through Gerbier letting out inconvenient secrets. "You must name nobody," wrote Rubens to Gerbier, "and by no means me, which would only ruin me."

And the gentle, courteous Rubens had the ill luck to offend a very great Flemish noble, the Duke of Arschot, a Councillor of State. On a certain occasion the Archduchess had expressly ordered Rubens to retire to Antwerp with some important papers, on no account to let them leave his hands, and to take care to

see no one, lest he should be asked awkward questions. But the Duke of Arschot went to Antwerp and desired to see Rubens, as well as the papers in question. In obedience to the orders of the Archduchess, Rubens stayed at home with his papers, and wrote a civil letter to the Duke. Arschot was furious. "I might well have omitted doing you the honour to reply,"[1] he wrote to Rubens, "for having so notably failed in your duty, by not coming in person to find me, without being so confident as to write to me this letter, which is very well for persons who are equal. . . . All I can say is, that I shall be very glad that you should learn for the future, how persons in your position should write to those in my station."

Happily, however, Rubens never fell out of the graces of the Archduchess, to whom he remained the most confidential friend and adviser.

Instead of Rubens being able to attract the United Provinces to the Spanish allegiance, Gerbier was half successful in withdrawing a large number of discontented subjects of the Grand Duchess from allegiance to their Sovereign. The stability of the Government at Brussels was seriously threatened, and Flemish politics were becoming very complicated; the King of England was meddling in them, and vacillating as was his wont between both sides.

With Flemish affairs in this unsatisfactory state, we will leave Rubens for a time, and return to Carleton.

[1] Sainsbury, 179, F. N.

In the foregoing pages, little has been said about love and marriage. The romance has been reserved for the end of the book, which may possibly, in its dying gasp, yet claim to rank as an historical novel. If the romance be official romance, state-paper romance—even red-tape romance—surely that is better than no romance at all.

As we saw on a much earlier page, Rubens and Carleton both lost their wives within a few months of each other, and, curiously enough, after an interval of four years, they both married second wives within about the same number of months.

In Carleton's case, it was not a question of falling in love. He simply thought it desirable to marry again ; and, having more interesting matters to engage his own attention, he appears to have placed his matrimonial concerns in the hands of his friends, who were evidently commissioned on no account to forget the all-important detail of pounds, shillings, and pence. He now held a very exalted official position as Secretary of State ; he was a Viscount ; he was high in the King's favour ; and at fifty-six he was not altogether of an unmarriageable age. His agents, therefore, had valuable assets to offer.

The State Papers contain several letters concerning this singularly romantic episode. Thus we meet with a missive from,[1] "William Shaw to Sec. Dorchester". The writer recommended "an investment" of which the "title and tenure are without exception" ; a fair

[1] S.P., July, 1629.

and virtuous daughter of a Scottish Earl. The whole family of Howards, the Marquis of Hamilton and other Northern noblemen were her friends and "on her side". The King "honours her". But for some unknown reason she was not accepted by Carleton.

In the following month, another candidate was entered for the prize.

On 4 August, 1629, Sir John Bingley wrote that his wife was making inquiries about Lady Bayning. Sir Paul Bayning (the first Viscount Bayning) was said to have left his son, at that time a lad of fourteen, £8000 a year in land, and £100,000 in money, as well as £60,000 to his four daughters. Lady Bayning was very fond of her cousin, the Earl of Dorset, and in business affairs she placed great confidence in a servant of "old Mr. Bayning," named Kirby. But her affection for Dorset was only platonic; for shortly afterwards he wrote to Carleton expressing his pleasure on learning that he was considering the attractions of his cousin, and Carleton seems to have employed Dorset in negotiations for a match. Carleton, wrote Dorset, had increased his obligations by choosing him as an instrument to feel the way for a possible union between such an excellent man as Carleton and a woman whom Dorset so dearly loved and honoured. He promised to "omit no industry" in effecting the scheme. The scheme, however, hung fire.

In October, Lord Poulett wrote (on the 11th) kindly offering to try to negotiate a marriage between Carleton and the widow of Sir Francis Heale, who

was said to be worth at least £50,000. Why this attempt failed we are not told. In the January of the following year, Carleton was still in the market. On the 10th, Sir John Stawell wrote to him, recommending a widow with £400 a year jointure and £10,000 in cash. "Her plate, linen and other household stuff, cannot be worth less than £1000 to £1500," said he, in his letter, "Her age is 42 to 43; her personage not to be disliked of, kind, affable, and provident;" her only drawback was that, in the past, she had been a little too fond of gambling. Carleton's friends now became anxious. In March Lord Poulett urged him "not to let the matter of choosing a wife hang in the air too long"; and in April the Earl of Northumberland prayed that God would send Carleton a good wife, adding that he had heard that he was "towards one".

After mature consideration of the recommendations of the various candidates, the astute diplomatist at last came to a decision. A letter, written on 4 May, 1630,[1] says: "Lord Dorchester [is] busy in making love to Lady Banning" [*sic*]. And a letter in the State Paper Office[2] records the fact that, in June, 1630, he married Lady Bayning.

Although the subject has not been dwelt upon at any length, mention of Carleton's bad health has been made several times in the preceding chapters.

[1] "Sir Dudley Carleton's State Letters," etc., edited by T. P.; published by C. Gilmour, 1841.

[2] Rowland Woodward to Francis Windebank, 17 June, 1630.

We found him suffering severely as a very young man; again when Ambassador at Venice.

Nearly all through his life he was more or less subject to a very painful and distressing complaint (chronic *cystitis*, with *calculi*). Latterly he was also a victim to gout. In 1630[1] Lord Salisbury expressed his pleasure on learning that Carleton had been able to move from Bramshill to Bagshot, "which makes him hope that the Secretary's lameness is not a formed gout, which makes men sit all day at cards". In January, 1631, Lord Poulett recommended him "not to take physic for the gout"; and, considering the drastic medicines then in vogue, this may not have been bad advice. In the same month Lord Craven sent a letter to Carleton wishing him a safe recovery, and Lord Holland wrote to him conveying the King's express desire that he should not "adventure a journey" to the Court at Newmarket until he was much better.

A letter written by Carleton, on 30 April, 1631, from his house in Westminster, to Lord Holland, informs him that Carleton had had "forewarnings of a fit," and that the very potent medicines prescribed by his doctor rendered it impossible for him to wait upon the King. If, said he, his life should be cut short, and he should imitate his old Master (James I) in the manner of his death, as he had already imitated him in his diseases, he should be able to leave his friends, after his long and expensive services,

[1] S.P., Vol. CLXXXI, No. 90.

nihil praeter lachrymas, a hint which he may have intended to be repeated to the King. He then alluded to a certain "mark of His Majesty's favour," of which he had already made mention to Holland, and he hoped that Holland would endeavour to procure it for him from the King. Even when weakened by illness, with forewarnings of a fit, and with thoughts of death evidently before his mind, his old instinct to obtain advancement was still vigorous within him.

During the remaining eight months of the year 1631, however, there is little record of his ill-health; but the last of his own letters among the State Papers was written on 27 September, which is ominous of weakness; but letters written to Carleton, both on business and on friendly matters, exist among the State Papers up to February, 1632. In the January of that year he was probably still going out of doors; for a letter from Lady Slingsby, assigned in the State Papers, with a query, to that month, expresses a hope that Carleton "as he shall pass through the lobby before the King, will take so much notice of her that" a certain petition of hers "may not pass his hands".

The end came on 15 February, 1632. Henry Vane in a letter to his father (27 Feb.) says that Carleton's death was "sudden". Sir Thomas Roe wrote, on the 23rd, that "as he walked uprightly, he died manly and christianly," showing "as well in his latest words as in his life, that his affections were right to God, to his master, and the good cause".

Four days later he was buried quietly at Westminster Abbey in the Chapel of St. Paul.

If Carleton was not, strictly speaking, "an historical character," he was at least a contributor to the making of history, and historians have made free use of his name in their pages. If he was rather a servant than a councillor, no servant could have been more faithful or hard-working ; if he was rather a tool than an artificer, he was a tool of fine temper and a tool that never failed.

When he entered the diplomatic service, diplomacy, in the modern sense of the word, was in its infancy ; and it was anything but a holy child. Dudley Carleton did much to raise its tone and its character. He set an admirable example to other Ambassadors, and showed them that low cunning was not invariably the surest method of serving the interests of the countries they represented. His freedom from intrigue made him popular at foreign Courts, especially as he gradually convinced the Governments to which he was accredited, that he came to them rather as a friend than as an enemy.

In two ways he set the example of most important reforms in the diplomatic service; nothing would induce him to intercept letters, and he never employed spies, or what were euphemistically termed "intelligencers" ; two customs which, up to his time and during it, were in almost universal practice among Ambassadors. Altogether, by his honourable conduct, he did a great deal to relieve the name of Ambas-

sador from the odium which had hitherto been attached to it.

Whatever we may claim for Carleton's diplomatic abilities it is impossible to ascertain their extreme limits, owing to the persistent hampering of his efforts by two Kings under whom he served. First James I and afterwards Charles I, alternately by their vacillations and by their obstinacy, crippled, or nullified, his best endeavours for their interests. If their immediate assistance or instructions were required and implored, they were inactive and silent for months ; if all were going well, instead of leaving well alone, they meddled and muddled.

It may be thought that too much abuse has been directed in this book to the character of Charles I ; but this has been no history of his life ; he and his actions have only been noticed so far as, directly or indirectly, they affected Dudley Carleton. Unfortunately, the result, in almost every instance, has been to show his worst side. No opportunity has been afforded of exhibiting his best side. Charles was good-looking, dignified, attractive, a moral husband, a good father, sober, religious, industrious, courageous, cultured, and a fine judge of works of art. Even in defence of his defects there is something to be said. As a child he had suffered from extreme debility and ill health, having been what would now be termed a neurotic boy. Although, on reaching early manhood, he became apparently well and strong, his nervous temperament still asserted itself, in his stammering,

in his indecision combined with obstinacy, and in that exaggerated self-opinionatedness accompanied by occasional spasmodic fits of self-distrust, so frequently found in neurotic subjects. It was not his fault that his father had indoctrinated him with almost as great a devotion to the Divine Right of Kings, as to the Divinity Itself, with the notion that the wisdom of Kings was almost as divine as their right, and with the principle that nothing could be of such importance to the people as the personal welfare of their sovereign. Again, his reserve, his tendency to place unquestioning confidence in one or two favourites and to distrust everybody else, to be shifty, and even to be unfaithful, may have been more or less of neurotic origin. In smooth times he might have been a highly respectable, and a greatly respected monarch; but, as it happened, a king with such characteristics could scarcely have reigned at a more unfortunate period; nor could Dudley Carleton have been employed by a master much more difficult to serve.

Carleton was a great official, if he had no claim to be called a great statesman. He was absolutely trustworthy; he was exceedingly industrious, he was invariably loyal to his master, or superior, for the time being, whoever that master or superior might happen to be; and he was one of the most faithful royalists that ever served under an English Sovereign. To him, whatever the King did was right; although it is very clear that he often wished the King had not done it.

Two of the commonest vices of officials, even of the highest rank, in Carleton's days, were the acceptance of bribes and the personal appropriation of what ought to have been respected as public money. How little he can have offended in either way is sufficiently demonstrated by the very moderate estate which he left at his death.

To judge from the evidence available, Dudley Carleton would appear to have been a man of calm temperament. If people disagreed with him, he still worked with, or under them to the best of his power. Even to his worst enemies, the Spaniards, he could be civil, nay, even obliging; and for his opponent, Barneveldt, he showed considerable sympathy. In seeking his own advancement, again, he did not injure others; and of few successful holders of high office in his times could as much be said.

CHAPTER XIV.

HAVING disposed of our diplomat proper, let us see what befell our diplomatic painter.

About a year after the death of Dudley Carleton, that is to say, early in 1633, the discontented subjects of the Archduchess informed the Prince of Orange that, if he would come to their assistance—and there were only 6000 Spanish and Italian troops in Flanders for him to overcome—they would throw off the yoke of Spain. At the same time they persuaded Gerbier to ask Charles to guarantee their independence, in the case of the Dutch attempting to absorb their country as a part of the United Provinces.

The disloyal Flemish nobles had begged Gerbier to obtain the help of Charles, a few months earlier; and, in reply to Gerbier, then English Ambassador at Brussels, Charles had written (21 Aug., 1632. Hardwick, S.P., 11, 79): "I am in friendship with the King of Spain . . . but since I see a likelihood —almost a necessity—that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other King's or State's protection, and that I am offered without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein . . . it were a great imprudence in me to let slip this occasion".

The real wish of Charles was to set up a Belgian

State, quite independent of both Spain and Holland; and, although he was intriguing with Richelieu, through Weston, for the liberation of the discontented Provinces from Spain, he was, if anything, still more anxious that they should not be absorbed by France.

In 1633, the Prince of Orange (to whom it had been promised by the Flemish nobles that, at his appearance with an army on the soil of Flanders, the people would rise like one man to his assistance) crossed the border, and captured two or three important places in Flanders. To his great disappointment, however, there was no rising, no welcome from the common people, no sign of discontent, or of a desire to be liberated from their Sovereign.

The Archduchess had for some time been suspicious of the proceedings of the King of England and his emissaries, Gerbier included. Gerbier was well aware of this, and that faithful Ambassador of the English Government now perceived an admirable opportunity of making a little money. At midsummer he contrived to have it hinted to the Archduchess that he could, if he liked, and that, if it were to be made worth his while, he very possibly might, reveal to her secrets which would be beyond price.[1]

It should be remembered that, of all his Ambassadors, there was none that Charles trusted so implicitly as Gerbier—Gerbier in whom the most excellent, faithful and affectionate Buckingham had

[1] Gardiner, VII, 346.

GERBIER IN LATER LIFE

placed unlimited confidence, and who was therefore beyond all suspicion. So much did Charles trust him that he used secretly to send him secret instructions contrary to those of the Secretary of State.

Isabella took Gerbier's hint; but the English Ambassador was not going to dishonour his master by betraying him for a mere paltry bribe. He haggled hard for a price worthy of so great a King as Charles I, whom he finally consented to give away for 20,000 crowns—in hard coin; he would have nothing to do with paper money—and a guarantee of secrecy. The latter was scrupulously maintained, and Charles never knew of the abominable transaction.

Late one night, it is said, two heavily-laden friars, each carrying ten thousand crown-pieces in a bag, entered the English embassy; and to one of them Gerbier coolly told the whole story, describing the shady proceedings of his King, and giving the names of the leading conspirators among the Archduchess's own subjects.[1]

Invaluable as was this information to Isabella, she cannot have found it very pleasant hearing. Everybody's hand seemed to be against her. Nor was she able to profit to any great extent from the treachery which she had purchased; for, in the autumn of the same year, she died.

Isabella was succeeded by the Cardinal Infant, Ferdinand, a brother of Philip IV of Spain. When Ferdinand was to enter Antwerp in triumphal pro-

[1] Herrard, 439. Quoted by Gardiner, VII, p. 346.

cession, Rubens was persuaded to design eleven arches for the occasion. When the day came he was laid up with the gout ; but Ferdinand paid him a visit. Gout was a constant trouble to him during the eight years by which he outlived Dudley Carleton. He managed to paint a good many pictures in the intervals between the fits of his malady, and he sketched many designs for his pupils to carry out on a large scale in colour.

His political and diplomatic work may be said to have ended with the death of the Archduchess Isabella, and with the chief labour of his life, his art, these pages have nothing to do, except in respect to his pictures purchased by Dudley Carleton. The merits even of these has not been, and shall not be, fully discussed here. Although he took no further part in political affairs, Rubens retained the friendship of Ferdinand, who confirmed him in his official standing and frequently conferred with him about paintings for the King of Spain. About a hundred and twenty pictures left the studios of Rubens for Madrid in the years 1637, 1638 and 1639 ; but, as many of them were of large size, much of the work must have been executed by his pupils or by other artists in his employment.

Rubens was distinguished for his kindness to his fellow-artists. He was always ready to help them with advice and often with money ; and, although he pointed out the faults in their works with candour, he generally found something to admire in them. No

great painter was more ready than he to recognize the merits of rival artists. Hearing, on one occasion, that Vandyck complained of being unable to live on the money he received for his work, Rubens paid him a visit and purchased, there and then, every finished picture in his studio. In respect to payment for his pictures, it is scarcely necessary to say that Rubens himself had to wait a long time for money due to him from Charles I, so long indeed had he to wait that Gerbier wrote to the King, complaining that people in Flanders were talking with very unbecoming freedom of the penury at the English Court, which was entailing so much inconvenience upon their great artist.

Rubens's attacks of gout became more and more frequent until, utterly worn-out, he died on 20/30 May, 1640, at the age of sixty-two. Gerbier thus announced that event in a letter to Inigo Jones: "Now his Majesty will see the first piece of Jordaens, I shall hear whether his pleasure is that he shall continue to make the rest of the pictures, since there are none more to be expected from Sir Peter Rubens, who deceased three days past of a deflaction which fell on his heart, after some days indisposition of ague and gout. He is much regretted and commended, hath left a rich widow, and rich children, and many rarities, which will be sold by public out-cry."

The two principal characters figuring in this little sketch, namely Dudley Carleton and Rubens, had certain things in common. To begin with, they

were both honest men; and probably it would not be too much to say that, as a pair, they were the most incorruptible politicians at a period when corruption was rampant in almost every class, from crowned heads to scullions. Again, so far as can be ascertained, they were both faithful husbands, at a time when faithful husbands, among frequenters of Courts and Embassies, were exceptionally rare. Both men were remarkable for their courtesy; both were fond of art; both were excellent linguists; both were well read; and neither of them was a man devoid of religion; one of them a Protestant and the other a Catholic.

In temperament, however, they were very different. Rubens had an exceedingly vivid imagination, as must be evident to anybody familiar with his pictures, which also show ample symptoms of sentiment, emotion, and passion. A study of the character of Dudley Carleton, on the contrary, would lead one to infer that he was a man of an unimaginative, calm, calculating, cold, and rather passionless nature.

Carleton, if not exactly a place-hunter, was always anxious to "get on". If an appointment which he fancied fell vacant, he did not hesitate to ask for it, or to request all his friends, likely to have any influence, to urge his claims and interest themselves on his behalf. However excellent his post—and, at different times, he held some of the best in the gift of the Crown—he was ever on the look-out for a better. But he never used unfair means for his own advancement; he never depreciated the charac-

ters of others with a view to it; and he aimed at appointments likely to bring him important, interesting, and influential work, rather than emolument. He never flinched from disagreeable duties, or sought for sinecures. Still, the fact remains, that he always hoped to be "given something".

On the other hand, there is no evidence that Rubens ever asked for, or desired, an appointment. Indeed it is even doubtful whether his political services for the Archduchess Isabella were a pleasure or a pain to him, and whether he received any direct payment for them. Although he effected a good deal for diplomacy by tactful conversation, he never undertook or was entrusted with, diplomatic drudgery; nor is it by any means certain that he would have been capable of undergoing it with success.

Both Carleton and Rubens were, above all things, peacemakers. They were so far successful that Rubens had the satisfaction of seeing Spain at peace with England, which had been the main object of his diplomatic efforts, while Carleton had the double satisfaction of seeing his country at peace with France as well as with Spain, having laboured more or less for a peace with either country, and for a peace with France having laboured long and energetically.

Rubens and Carleton were fortunate in the dates of their deaths, to the extent that they occurred in time to save them from certain troubles and disappointments. So faithful was Carleton to his King that, had he lived till the rebellion, it is not unlikely

that his head might have been forfeited. Even his celebrated speech in defence of the King, after which he had narrowly escaped being made to kneel at the bar of the House, might very possibly have been raked up against him as evidence of treason, or of what the Commons called treason. Again, had he lived but a few months longer, he would have been distressed at seeing his beloved "Queen of Bohemia" a widow, and all hope of the restitution of the Palatinate, to say nothing of the Crown of Bohemia, to either herself or her children, gone for ever.

Longer life might not have brought personal loss to Rubens ; but eight years after his death, his much loved city of Antwerp was ruined, owing to the closing of the Scheldt to commercial navigation by the Treaty of Münster, which would have caused him much sorrow. If he had lived even a few months longer, he would have learned that Spain, the country to which he bore allegiance with no little pride, had had the humiliation of losing Portugal, and shortly afterwards that there had been a revolt among her subjects at Naples as well as among the Catalans ; and, if his life had been extended to a length by no means uncommon, he would have been mortified at the dismembering of a considerable portion of his native land for the benefit of France, by the treaties of the Pyrenees in 1659, and of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668.

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